

JULY 1953 COPY

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY
PUBLISHED BY THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1956
VOLUME XXVIII
NUMBER THREE

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1956

VOLUME XXXVIII

NUMBER THREE

CONTRIBUTING INSTITUTIONS

AMHERST COLLEGE • BOSTON UNIVERSITY • BRYN MAWR COLLEGE • COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY •
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, ART DEPARTMENT, PRIVATE FUND • HARVARD UNIVERSITY •
INDIANA UNIVERSITY • THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY • NEW YORK UNIVERSITY •
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY • OBERLIN COLLEGE • SMITH COLLEGE, MUSEUM OF ART • UNIVER-
SITY OF CHICAGO • UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE • UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN • VASSAR COLLEGE •
WELLESLEY COLLEGE • WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY • WILLIAMS COLLEGE • YALE UNIVERSITY

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM • FULLER E. CALLAWAY • CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK •
THE CATHERWOOD FOUNDATION • CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART • THE CORNING MUSEUM OF
GLASS • DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION • THE FRICK COLLECTION •
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART • THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY • NATIONAL GAL-
LERY OF ART • NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA • RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN, MUSEUM
OF ART • SAMUEL H. KRESS FOUNDATION • WALKER ART CENTER • WILLIAM ROCKHILL
NELSON GALLERY • THE WYOMISSING FOUNDATION

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief: JAMES S. ACKERMAN, *College of Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.*

Managing Editor: HARRIET ANDERSON, *Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.*

Book Review Editor: ROSALIE B. GREEN, *Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.*

TO SERVE THROUGH 1958

VIRGIL BARKER

University of Miami

SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

Dumbarton Oaks

ROBERT GOLDWATER

Queen's College

GEORGE HANFMANN

Harvard University

G. HAYDN HUNTLEY

Northwestern University

H. W. JANSON

New York University

HELENE KANTOR

University of Chicago

RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY

Smith College

ULRICH MIDDELDORF

University of Chicago

DOROTHY MINER

Walters Art Gallery

AGNES MONGAN

Harvard University

JAKOB ROSENBERG

Harvard University

TO SERVE THROUGH 1961

ALFRED H. BARR, JR.

Museum of Modern Art

HARRY BOBER

New York University

SUMNER MC K. CROSBY

Yale University

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

Freer Gallery of Art

LLOYD GOODRICH

*Whitney Museum of
American Art*

JULIUS HELD

Barnard College

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK

Smith College

ERNST KITZINGER

Dumbarton Oaks

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER

New York University

KARL LEHMANN

New York University

ERWIN PANOFSKY

Institute for Advanced Study

ALEXANDER SOPER

Bryn Mawr College

FOREIGN MEMBERS

TO SERVE THROUGH 1958

DIEGO ANGULO-INIGUEZ

*Diego Velasquez Institute,
Madrid*

ANTHONY BLUNT

Courtauld Institute

ANDRÉ CHASTEL

*Institute of Art and
Archaeology, Paris*

L. M. J. DELAÏSSÉ

Royal Library, Brussels

HERBERT VON EINEM

University of Bonn

J. G. VAN GELDER

University of Utrecht

HANS ROBERT HAHNLOSER

University of Bern

JIRO HARADA

*Imperial Household
Museum, Tokyo*

CARL NORDENFALK

National Museum, Stockholm

RODOLFO PALLUCCHINI

University of Bologna

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

Victoria and Albert Museum

Subscriptions for THE ART BULLETIN should be sent to the College Art Association of America at 432 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. The price of THE ART BULLETIN is three dollars a number, twelve dollars a year.

Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of THE ART BULLETIN, College of Architecture, University of California, Berkeley 4, Cal.; books for review should be addressed to the Editor for Book Reviews, College Art Association, 432 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Princeton, New Jersey, November 3, 1948.

THE ART BULLETIN

SEPTEMBER 1956

An English Crosier of the Transitional Period	WILLIAM S. A. DALE	137
A Sixteenth Century Bozzetto	ROSALIND GRIPPI	143
The Documents Relating to the Fountain of Trevi	HEREWARD LESTER COOKE, JR.	149
Chautauqua 1880-1900: Education in Art History and Appreciation	GEORGE EHRLICH	175
NOTE		
Modern and Mediaeval Stained Glass: A Microscopic Comparison of Two Fragments	JAMES R. JOHNSON	185
EXHIBITION REVIEW		
The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII-XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale	MILLARD MEISS	187
BOOK REVIEWS		
Gabriel Millet, <i>La Peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)</i> ; <i>Yugoslavia, Mediaeval Frescoes</i> , preface by David Talbot Rice, intro. by Svetozar Radojčić	CYRIL MANGO	197
<i>The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens</i> , trans. and ed. by Ruth Saunders Magurn	JOHN RUPERT MARTIN	199
Klaus Lankheit, <i>Die Zeichnungen des kurpfälzischen Hofbildhauers Paul Egell</i>	JOHN COOLIDGE	199
LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED		205

AN ENGLISH CROSIER OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD*

WILLIAM S. A. DALE

ONE of the frustrations, as well as one of the fascinations, of the study of mediaeval ivories is that one is seldom provided with the primary documentation of date and provenance so often available for monumental sculpture and manuscript illumination. Too often this has led writers to deal with them *in vacuo*, as if ivory carving were somehow an isolated phenomenon, unconnected with the other arts. Actually, it is only by comparing them with well-documented works in other media that one can find a secure basis for placing them in time and space.

A case in point is the frequently published head of a pastoral staff in the Victoria and Albert Museum,¹ the previous history of which cannot be traced beyond the collection of the nineteenth century antiquary John Webb. Since its acquisition, it has been attributed in succession to twelfth century Germany, eleventh century England, England or France ca. 1200, and back to eleventh century England. More recently, however, writers have favored the middle of the twelfth century. It is the purpose of the present study to fix its date and source with greater precision by means of the secondary documentation of iconographical and stylistic parallels in other materials.

The crosier (Figs. 1 and 2) consists of a volute of slightly oval section, tapering gradually from base to tip, but cut back to a narrower diameter where it originally met the staff. This neck was probably designed to accommodate a knob, which covered the joint and strengthened the ivory against cracking. The shaft fitted into a hole bored from the bottom. From its broad and even grain the material can be identified as elephant tusk,² a substance which does not seem to have superseded walrus ivory and bone in England until well on in the twelfth century, to judge by surviving examples. Age has darkened it to a creamy buff color, but otherwise the condition is exceptionally good. Normal use accounts for most of the abrasion, and the loss of one or two projections has not obscured the outstanding quality of the carving.

The decoration, traditionally interpreted as illustrating the Infancy and Passion of Our Lord, consists of groups of small figures arranged in a rhythmic sequence of accents zigzagging from side to side along the spine of the volute. Viewed from the side these fall into a pattern of swinging

* The following has been extracted, with some alteration, from *English Ivories, 925-1175*, a thesis submitted in the Spring of 1955 at Harvard University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The chief comparisons and conclusions as to date and provenance were, however, first presented in May, 1950, in an essay read by a few interested scholars in London. This essay formed the basis of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in New York on January 25, 1952.

The writer wishes to record his thanks to the Victoria and Albert Museum for permission to publish this ivory, and to make use of their photographs of it and the stained glass; to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral for permission to reproduce the latter and the roof-boss; also to the executors of the late C. J. P. Cave for the use of his excellent photograph of this roof-boss.

1. Acq. no. 218-1865. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 1$ inches. W. Maskell, *Ivories Ancient and Modern in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1872, p. 49; G. F. Lee, *Archaeologia*, LI, 1888, p.

368; A. Maskell, *Ivories*, London, 1905, p. 217; H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, XLII, 1923, pp. 167-169, 304-305; W. W. Watts, *Catalogue of Pastoral Staves*, London, 1924, no. 16; M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, London, 1926, pp. 18-21, 80; A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit*, IV, Berlin, 1926, no. 32; M. H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory*, V. & A. M., London, Pt. 1, 1927, p. 87; T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, London, 1949, pp. 45-46; D. T. Rice, *English Art, 871-1100* (Oxford History of English Art, II), Oxford, 1952, pp. 170-171; T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100-1216* (O. H. E. A., III), Oxford, 1953, p. 100; H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, Chicago and London, 1954, p. 63; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages* (Pelican History of Art), 1955, pp. 86-87; J. Beckwith, *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1956, pp. 119-120 n. 6.

2. For a comparison of various types of ivory, see G. Schönbberger, *Städel Jahrbuch*, IX, 1933, pp. 171-174, figs. 190-192.

curves festooned across the upper part of the curl, the end of which is reunited with the upright of the staff by the double curve of a secondary branch.

The series begins at the center of the crook with the *Nativity* (Fig. 3), a compact group almost in the round. The recumbent figure of the Virgin projects from the end of the volute, forming an extension of it. Above her, resting on the secondary branch which springs from the upright of the staff, lies the Infant Savior in swaddling clothes. The branch is supported by an angel partly hidden by the Virgin and the heads of the Ox and Ass, and from it hangs a lamp.

Back to back with this is the *Agnus Dei* (Fig. 4), which lies on the same branch as the Christ Child. Its head is missing, but it still holds a tiny cross in its left forehoof. The angel mentioned above emerges from below to support the branch, curiously transformed at this point into a swag of drapery.

The *Annunciation to the Shepherds* covers one side of the upright section of the staff. An old man with a beard squats on his heel at the bottom of the scene, pointing upwards with his left hand and beckoning with his right (Fig. 5). To the left of him the animals approach in panic; a dog with his tail between his legs and vomiting, the head and foreleg of a goat above him, and the rest of the flock represented by a vertical row of heads (Figs. 10 and 8). The other shepherds are shown on an upper level; one on the left with a crook in his left hand and raising a horn to his mouth with his right (Fig. 7), the other with a water-bottle at his neck, holding a bag in his left hand and raising his right in wonderment (Fig. 9). Above these again, an angel sprawls down the sloping shoulder of the volute, his pointing finger breaking through the inscription (ANGELUS), which identifies him. One wing is swept forward behind his head; the other is broken off, as are his feet. Below him is an eight-pointed star (Fig. 6).

The next two scenes, covering the corresponding area on the other side of the staff, appear to depict episodes from the Infancy. The lower one shows a mother reclining under a tent, in front of which rests her child in a cradle. Propping her elbow on a pillow, she draws aside the tent with her right hand, and holds a long braid of hair in her left (Fig. 18). In the group above, a mother sits with a child on her knees, and offers him her breast. The child, however, pushes it away and turns his head towards the bearded man who emerges, hands outstretched, from a hole in the crosier. The cradle at the mother's feet and the chair on which she sits provide the setting (Fig. 16).

At the top of the loop on this side, three women recline under the same blanket. The nearest sleeps with her right arm outside the covers; the farthest, who is awake, props herself on her left elbow and rests her head on her hand in an attitude of sorrow; the third, whose head is missing, puts an arm around each of the others (Fig. 11).

On the outer curl of the volute appears a group including the half-length figures of a woman and a bearded man on either side of the crosier, the lower part of the body being masked with drapery in each case (Figs. 12 and 17). The full-length figure of a youth stands on twin scrolls at the end of the curl and stretches upwards around the curve, holding something in his left hand. His right is broken off, as is that of the woman (Fig. 19).

The first two scenes conform to the accepted formulae, though reduced by limitations of space, but an unusual detail in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* is the Star normally associated with the Magi. It might be argued that this was a carry-over from a composite scene including both the Shepherds and the Magi, were it not for the survival of a number of examples of this peculiarity dating from the late twelfth century.³

The rest of the iconography is less easily explained. The mother and child might be taken for

3. For example, the Wilten Chalice at Vienna and Arundel MS 157 in the B.M., fols. 3v and 124v. That the artist has altered his model is shown in the arrangement of the shepherds

in two levels. From the direction of the first shepherd's gaze and his beckoning hand it is evident that the other two were originally on the same level to the right.

a reduction of the *Nativity*, were the latter not already represented. The group above has all the appeal of a *Holy Family* of the Renaissance, and the remaining scene might be interpreted as a *Pietà*,⁴ but, if these are meant to illustrate the Life of Christ, the traditional choice of episodes has been deliberately avoided.

In any case, the model for these scenes can be found outside the Gospels altogether. Of the three windows in Chartres Cathedral dedicated to St. Nicholas, two illustrate the story of the infant saint's abstinence from his mother's milk on fast days.⁵ In both the composition is almost identical with that of the family group on the crosier. The mourning women are also closely paralleled in the dowerless daughters of the nobleman of Myra, who recline disconsolately under the same blanket. The natural conclusion is to accept the crosier scenes as illustrating the St. Nicholas story, and to see the birth of the saint in the second *Nativity*, the impoverished nobleman receiving the money from him in the *Pietà*.⁶ This alone would rule out a mid eleventh century date for the crosier, since the legend of St. Nicholas became popular in the West only after the translation of his body to Bari in 1087.⁷

The style of the carving is remarkably free of mannerism, and yet a number of influences can be detected, which give it an air of eclecticism. The zigzag poses and feverish excitement of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* recall English illumination of the pre-Conquest period. A second manner, related to that of the celebrated St. Albans Psalter at Hildesheim and characterized by somber facial expressions and the use of concentric spiral folds in the drapery, may be observed in the *St. Nicholas Fasting* and in the daughters of the nobleman. The style of the two *Nativities* and the angel of the *Agnus Dei* is comparable with that of the "Headmaster" group on the Portail Royal at Chartres. The reclining Virgin on the ivory and the corresponding figure on the lower lintel of the south door⁸ have the same round face with small mouth and wide eyes, hair rendered with similar parallel lines parted in the middle of the forehead, the same large hands and the same wrinkled sleeves and flattened drapery. As in the third column-figure to the right of the central door,⁹ the mother of St. Nicholas has braided hair, and wears a tightly fitting dress with a jeweled collar and wrinkles at the armpits.

The group comprising the figures of the nobleman, his wife, and the young St. Nicholas on the outer curl of the crosier represents the most advanced of these styles. The faces are more expressive, and the drapery, less obviously patterned, is pulled tightly over projecting shoulders and thighs, and swags of closely gathered folds outline the main contours of the form beneath.

A similar eclecticism appears in the earliest stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral, which Rackham dates from ca. 1178 to 1225,¹⁰ and here perhaps are to be found the closest parallels to the crosier style as a whole. Similarities of pose can be found, for instance, between the angel in the *Dunstan and the Devil* of the north choir aisle triforium¹¹ and his counterpart in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, between the delving *Adam* of the West Window¹² and the nobleman of Myra, and between the *Eilward of Westoning* in one of the Trinity Chapel windows (Fig. 15) and the nobleman's wife. Comparisons can also be made between individual heads, such as those of the father and mother in the *St. Nicholas Fasting* and those of *Moses* and *Synagogue*,¹³

4. Mitchell interpreted the three women as the Marys waking to visit the sepulcher. However, the open eyes of the dead Christ would be hard to explain, as would the action of the St. John.

5. E. Houvet, *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1926, pls. XLIII and CLVIII.

6. This does, however, raise the problem of reconciling a St. Nicholas cycle with what can only be a *Nativity of Christ* and an *Annunciation to the Shepherds*. In defence of the traditional interpretation it should be noted that the Christ Child weans himself in the early thirteenth century *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica* (ed. A. Vögtlin, Tübingen, 1888, ll. 2510-2521), and that the Lamentation in the same

poem includes not only the Virgin and St. John but the other Marys as well. It is at least possible that these scenes have been imperfectly adapted from a St. Nicholas cycle to illustrate a similar popular Gospel.

7. K. Meisen, *Nikolaskult und Nikolasbrauch im Abendlande*, Düsseldorf, 1931, pp. 126-171.

8. E. Houvet, *La Cathédrale de Chartres, Portail Occidental ou Royal*, Chartres, 1921, pl. LIV.

9. *ibid.*, pl. IX.

10. B. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, London, 1949.

11. *ibid.*, pl. 32a.

13. *ibid.*, pl. 9.

12. *ibid.*, pl. 1.

that of the sleeping girl on the top of the crosier and that of the sleeping *Richard Sunieve* (Fig. 13), Nicholas' in the outer group of the crosier and the young king's in the window of the north choir aisle, in which the Magi view the Star.¹⁴

Only in the most advanced crosier style, however, can the drapery be compared with that of the Canterbury glass. The sagging cloth covering the lower limbs of the nobleman's wife, with its deeply incised folds and swinging curves, reappears in the *Ezekiel* of the northeast transept rose,¹⁵ and the tight sleeves of her dress which pull at the armpits are echoed not only in the Eilward window mentioned above but frequently elsewhere.¹⁶ The fluted folds about the legs of the young St. Nicholas may be compared with similar drapery in the Magi window, and the short sleeves of his gown, with raking folds from cuff to armpit, are quite common in the Miracle Glass.

No less striking is the similarity of composition and style between the animals on the crosier and the horses of the Sunieve window (Figs. 10, 13, and 8). In the glass, as on the ivory, only the nearest animal is shown in its entirety, while the rest are reduced to heads on long necks. The dog on the crosier and the nearest horse of the window are almost identical in pose and proportion, and differ very little in their scale relative to that of the human figures. In both the neck is almost as long as the body, the shoulders humped up, and the legs short and spindly.

There is remarkably little ornament on the staff proper. The inner curve on either side is crisply defined with moldings running from the spring of the secondary branch to the tip of the volute, consisting of billets on one side and of beading on the other. The scrolls with which the volute ends are divided into gently swelling lobes by plain ribs, set off by incised lines. Foliage of a similar nature appears here and there around the base of the upright, but there is none of the exuberant leafage so characteristic of Romanesque ornament. This restraint is, however, quite typical of Transitional architecture at Canterbury and elsewhere, in which bead and billet moldings are commonly found on ribs and archivolt, and capitals consist of similarly stylized foliage.

The stained glass referred to above ranges over a period of fifty years by Rackham's calculations, and yet the stylistic development seems slight. There are, however, archaic features in the ivory which point to a slightly earlier date. The spiral folds on the stomach of the fasting St. Nicholas and on the knee of one of the daughters of the nobleman are without parallel in the windows, though they appear in other Canterbury works, such as the self-portrait of Eadwine in the Canterbury Psalter¹⁷ and the *St. Paul at Malta* on the wall of St. Anselm's Chapel,¹⁸ which date from the third quarter of the century.

A date ca. 1175 which this evidence suggests is further supported by a comparison with a more precisely dated work in the Cathedral, the *Agnus Dei* roof-boss over the east crossing (Fig. 14). From the contemporary account of Gervase of Canterbury we know that it was upon the vault of which this boss forms the key that William of Sens was working when he met with his accident in the summer of 1178. He was apparently "in the act of preparing the machines for the turning of the great vault, when suddenly the beams broke under his feet, and he fell to the ground." It looked as if the work must stop. "But the Master reclining in bed commanded all that should be done in order. And thus was completed the ciborium between the four principal pillars. In the keystone of this ciborium the choir and the crosses seem as it were to meet."¹⁹ All but the eastern extremity of the choir was finished by Easter Eve, 1180, when the first service was held there since the fire of 1174. Hence the roof-boss, even if not carved *avant la pose*, would surely be finished before the scaffolding was removed for this occasion.

It is interesting to observe that the Paschal Lamb occupies a central position in the cathedral

14. *ibid.*, pl. 16.

15. *ibid.*, pl. IV.

16. *ibid.*, pls. 34d, 38a and XII.

17. M. R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter*, 1935, fol. 283v.

18. E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1944, sup. pl. 1.

19. E. G. Holt, *Literary Sources of Art History*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 52-53.



1-2. Ivory crosier. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



3. *Nativity*. Detail of crosier
(photo: W. S. A. Dale)



4. *Agnus Dei*. Detail of crosier
(photo: W. S. A. Dale)



5. First Shepherd



6. Angel



7. Second Shepherd



8. Animals



9. Third Shepherd



10. Animals



11. Dowerless Daughters

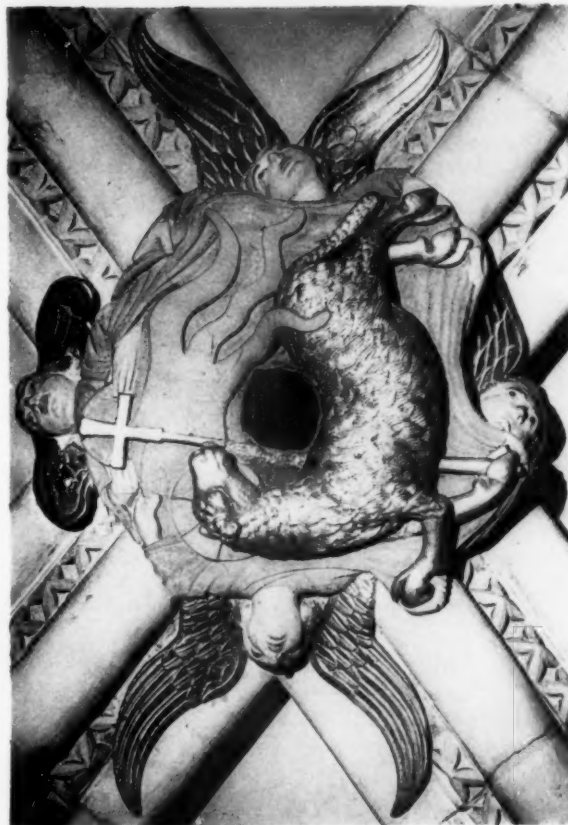


12. Nobleman's Wife

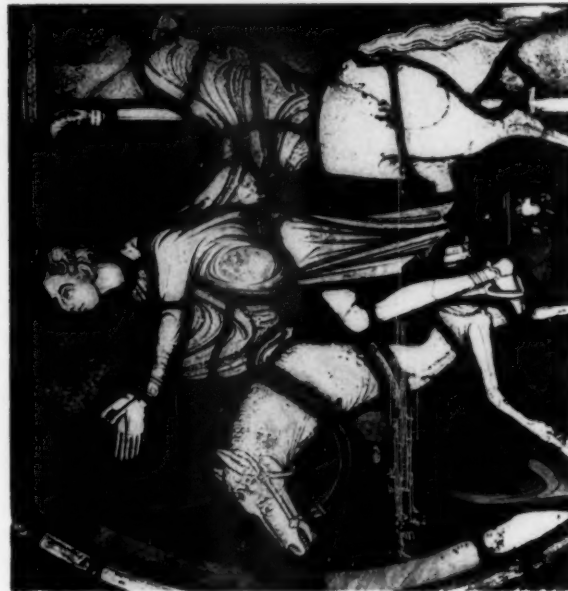
11-12. *Charity of St. Nicholas*, Details of crozier (photos: W. S. A. Dale)



13. *Richard Suniwee*, Stained glass, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



14. *Agnus Dei*, Roof-boss, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: C. J. P. Cave)



15. *Eilward of Westoning*, Stained glass, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



16. *St. Nicholas Fasting*



17. *Nobleman, Charity of St. Nicholas*



18. *Birth of St. Nicholas*



19. *St. Nicholas, Charity of St. Nicholas*

choir as it does on the crosier, and that in each case it is supported on a cloth, rather than the usual halo. The compositions differ with their settings, and the Lamb of the crosier is too mutilated for a direct comparison, but one may find a head similar to that of the roof-boss Lamb among the animals in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*.²⁰ The wing of the angel in the same scene is almost identical with those of the roof-boss angels, and the much-rubbed head of the one who supports the Lamb on the crosier makes a fair match for their full-cheeked faces.

The Canterbury provenance and the date ca. 1175 which are the logical conclusions of this examination suggest, in turn, that this pastoral staff might have been made for Archbishop Richard (1173-1184), whose tomb was discovered between 1735 and 1740 in the north aisle of the nave of the cathedral.²¹ Elected in 1173, he was not actually confirmed in his office by Alexander III until the following year, nor enthroned until October 1174, exactly a month after the disastrous fire.

Whatever its exact relationship may be to the Portail Royal at Chartres,²² this superb crosier occupies an analogous position between the Romanesque and Gothic styles. Like the column-figures flanking the doorways of the French cathedral, the figures on the crosier have taken on a plasticity equal to that of their support, and, although there is still a strong pattern connecting them with one another, they already showed signs of gaining their independence of it.

Spiritually, too, it belongs neither to the grim winter of the Romanesque nor the dry summer of the Gothic, but to that brief springtime of the human soul of which St. Francis is the chief flower.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

20. The third one down in the vertical row, Fig. 8.

21. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xx, p. 279.

22. The foregoing iconographical and stylistic links with Chartres are not surprising when it is remembered that one of the most influential figures in Canterbury during the third

quarter of the century was John of Salisbury, formerly a scholar and later Bishop of Chartres. The Rochester column-figures provide a similar example of this influence in south-eastern England.



A SIXTEENTH CENTURY BOZZETTO*

ROSALIND GRIPPI

THE individual styles of the sixteenth century sculptors in their bozzetti have been so little defined that attributions are apt to remain tenuous unless a sketch can be related as preparatory study or model to a known work of an artist.¹

The small clay bozzetto in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figs. 1 and 2)² first had been linked with Michelangelo by being considered as an early study for the mask, attribute of *Night* in the Medici Chapel.³ This opinion was again given by Steinmann.⁴

Subsequent writers on this piece have retained the possibility of Michelangelo's authorship, even though they have abandoned the idea of any specific connection with the mask of *Night*.⁵ With this same designation, the clay sketch is included in the 1932 *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture* of the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁶

Previously unpublished architectural decorations offer, I believe, a new and firm basis for the re-attribution of this clay sketch. Embedded in the walls of the small cortile of the Palazzo Vecchietti in Florence are conglomerate inscriptions and sculptural oddments. Among them is found a rectangular slab of stone on which is carved a head in high relief and a simple hanging of drapery below (Figs. 3 and 4).⁷ The same head (and drapery) is found twice on the façade that confronts Via Strozzi.⁸ There the two reliefs are placed under the two balconies of the middle story, and are framed by the ornate consoles that support the balconies. Comparison shows that the Victoria and Albert bozzetto had served as a model for these stone heads. Of the pieces on the Palazzo Vecchietti, only the sculpture in the cortile offered the possibility for clear photographs, and so this piece will be referred to in comparisons.

Both the stone head and the London model share the same troubled but ecstatic expression communicated by the knitted brows, the rolled back eyeballs and the tensely-set downward curving mouth.⁹ The impression of Scopasian pathos is intensified by the rich shadows that the brows cast over deeply set eyes.

Easily recognizable similarities of the two pieces are: the curls of the hair which are given in

*I should like to thank Prof. Martin Weinberger of New York University for his many helpful suggestions in connection with this paper and Mr. Pope-Hennessy for making the Victoria and Albert clay sketch available to me for study and photographs. The material was given in a paper read at the Symposium on the History of Art sponsored by The Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the Frick Collection in April of 1956.

1. A major effort to distinguish the bozzetto styles has been made by A. E. Brinckmann, *Barock-Bozzetti*, Frankfurt, 1923, 4 vols.

2. E. MacLagen and M. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture, Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1932, p. 130, pl. 89b, Museum No. 4107-1854. This piece (only 2¾ inches high) was part of the Gherardini Collection of models (Florence). This collection was purchased in 1854 for what is now the Victoria and Albert Museum. For the history of the Gherardini Collection, cf. E. MacLagen, "The Wax Models by Michael Angelo in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Burlington Magazine*, XLIV, January, 1924, p. 4.

3. Sir Charles Robinson, *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of Revival of Art*, London, 1862, p. 144.

4. E. Steinmann, *Das Geheimnis der Medici-Gräber Michel-*

angelos (Kunstgeschichtliche Monographien, IV), Leipzig, 1907, p. 81, fig. 16. The dissimilarities of the two pieces are apparent not only in style but also in content. All features of the London head have close correlates in natural facial anatomy and contrast sharply to the symbolic elements which constitute Michelangelo's mask.

5. Henry Thode, *Michelangelo; Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, Berlin, I, 1908, p. 487 and III, 1913, p. 283, (No. 605), and E. MacLagen, *op.cit.*, pp. 12 and 15. F. Wickhoff, in a review of the study by Steinmann, rejected the attribution of the London clay mask to Michelangelo, and declared it to be "aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert." Cf. F. Wickhoff, "Rezensionen E. Steinmann, Das Geheimnis der Medici-Gräber," *Abhandl., Vorträge u Anzeigen*, 11, Berlin, 1913, p. 386.

6. E. MacLagen and M. Longhurst, *op.cit.*

7. The slab measures 142 x 50 cm. The head itself is 28½ cm high.

8. The Palazzo Vecchietti faces both Via Strozzi and Via Vecchietti. Masks are found only on the façade on the Via Strozzi.

9. The eyeballs are treated thus in both heads although it may not be discerned from our photographs.

strongly modeled clusters,¹⁰ and the drapery folds of the headcloth pulled to rigid horizontal creases above the forehead and falling in a large loop and free swinging end at each side. Characteristically, the loops are formed by cloth pulled forward from behind. In both cases a sparse beard outlines the lower face. Its extra-decorative function becomes apparent in the finished stone piece. It serves to mitigate awkwardness where the head meets the hard plane of the background slab.

The modeling of our bozzetto recalls Rodin's definition of sculpture as being the art of the "hole and lump"; for the head is conceived in terms of the juxtapositions of protuberant forms to hollow ones and the richness in light values that such modeling affords. The result is an exuberance of form which provides many elements for comparison in the two pieces.

We may compare, for example, the foreheads which, close to the center of the faces, already take on planes that diverge swiftly to the temples; or we may trace in both heads, the same rich configurations about the eyes, the same formation of the cheek and prominence of the mouth region—with the deep indentations at the corners of the mouth and the lower lip rolled outward toward the light.

The stone head conscientiously repeats each step in the rich sequence of forms seen in the bozzetto (and has even sought to capture some of their vigor), but the modeling has suffered in the translation. In the stone head, reproduced several times, the forms are more schematized and have lost the supple transitions found in the study. The granular and less plastic properties of the stone as opposed to the flexibility of clay would not adequately account for this qualitative difference. What explains this loss in quality is that the stone pieces were executed by a different hand after the clay model by the "master," which may be expected in the case of a repeated architectural decoration. While the London head has the small size and the appearance of spontaneously achieved vigor that might be associated more easily with a first sketch, it has in parts the labored finish of a final model.¹¹ It is probable that this is the artist's first sketch, which he subsequently worked over to the point where it could be used as a model. This explains the concentration of detail in so small a work, and endows the sketch with a monumentality that belies its tiny scale.

If we examine the character of this bozzetto with a view to the eventual identification of its artist, we find that it expresses, in significant degree, an extreme appreciation for the varying natural flexibilities of muscular tissue. Where the artist has painstakingly worked over this small clay model it has been to portray this phenomenon. Thus the concavities above and below the malar bone clearly express the falling in of the flesh. The exaggerated depression that borders the outside corner of the eye is not uncommon in sixteenth century Italian sculpture, and its emphasis may have derived from antique sculpture. But what is impressive in the London sketch is that here the artist tells of the observed source of this shape. The modeling describes flesh pulled tautly over bone structure and drawn deeply into the interval between eye and socket. By textural contrast it marks the termination of the softly puffed brow.

Together with an almost baroque richness of variation of light and shade, the contrasting elastic tensions with which the "flesh" responds to the structural dominance of the hard skull below lend the head dramatic character, and to enrich both roles, the artist has explored even minor anatomical facts. Still, the organic interaction of the parts is so pronounced, that the shape of the mouth, for example, cannot be isolated for definition. It depends for its form on the sustaining pressure of surrounding structure. Such insistence on naturalistic description would be difficult to

10. The large center lock which curls over the headdress in the stone piece has been chipped away in the only partially baked clay head, but there remains an impression where it had been.

11. In his *Trattato della scultura*, Cellini indicates the function which these bozzetti fulfilled in the execution of a work. He advises the artist to begin with a small bozzetto in which

he puts his *invenzione* and determines the posture of the figure; but the finished sculpture, he continues, should be worked after a second model, of a size as near as possible to the work to be executed and more finished than the first sketch. Cf. *Due trattati di Benvenuto Cellini, scultore fiorentino*, Florence, 1730; *Della scultura*, p. 128.

place among the aesthetic concerns of most sixteenth century Florentine sculptors, and separates our piece from the sculptural ideals of Ammanati, Bandinelli, Cellini, or Vincenzo Danti.¹² For Florentine intellectualism precluded an interest in such explicit characterization of matter.

This is a trait which, more generally, is at home in Northern Europe, and indeed, both the style of our clay model and the literary sources on the Palazzo Vecchietti substantiate an attribution to an artist who, though he worked mainly in Florence, had his origin in the north—namely, Giovanni Bologna.

It was Bernardo Vecchietti's benevolent patronage that sustained Giambologna through his first years in Florence. From Borghini we learn that Vecchietti had met the young Flemish sculptor in Florence when the latter was on the way back to his own country after two years' study in Rome. Vecchietti prevailed upon the artist to remain in Florence to study, "e perche conosceva che Giambologna non aveva il modo a intrattenersi in Firenze gli offerse per due o tre anni senza spesa alcuna la casa sua."¹³

Baldinucci repeats this story and several pages later in his biography of Giambologna, he adds,¹⁴ "per Bernardo Vecchietti [Giambologna] fece il disegno della facciata di sua casa da' Ferravecchi,¹⁵ ed in sulla cantonata il bel satirino di bronzo accomodato."¹⁶

The type of mask represented in the Victoria and Albert head would not be completely foreign in Giambologna's artistic repertoire. Like most sixteenth century artists, he repeats and readapts favorite figure types, postures, and decorative motives from project to project. Heads that are strikingly similar to the London sketch decorate two of the *scudi* on Giambologna's Fountain of Neptune in Bologna.¹⁷ These bronze masks (Fig. 5), for the purpose of heightened grotesquery, refer less literally to natural anatomy than does the clay piece; but in their structure, decorative and emotive devices, and emphasis on light and dark in the modeling, they may serve to confirm the attribution proposed for the London sketch. (The other mask is not identical with that in Fig. 5.)

In these bronze masks on the fountain the faces are painfully twisted to complain of the weight of the *scudi* and the pressure of the volutes. This may help to explain the distressed expression worn by the London head. Designed as a model for heads below the platforms of balconies, it expresses the discomfort of a semi-caryatid position. In the bozzetto, the head is cut away flat at the top (Fig. 6). This would suit such a role. Designed to parallel or meet the sill of the balcony, the flatness would still be disguised from the spectator's view from below as it has been in our other photographs.

Up to the later phases of his development Giambologna, repeatedly though unevenly, represents in sculpture the textural values found in nature. This makes itself strongly evident in the London head. Other manifestations of this interest may be found elsewhere in the artist's work. One recalls the fingers of the Roman sunk into the soft flesh of the Sabine; or the *Venus* in the grotto of the Boboli Gardens where, through the meticulous modeling and polishing of surfaces, the tactile values of cloth, flesh, vase, and base have been clearly differentiated. In the *Diavolino*, which stood on the corner of the Palazzo Vecchietti, fantasy involves the humorous, unexpected interplay of structural and organic parts.¹⁸ In the base, the animal skin which is tied about the

12. Vincenzo Danti's views on art are also expressed in his writing. Cf. *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni*, Florence, 1567 (re-ed., Vermiglioli, Perugia, 1830).

13. Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584, p. 585. Bernardo Vecchietti's home must have provided the young Giambologna with a stimulating artistic *ambiente*. Borghini describes, at length, Vecchietti's famous villa Il Riposo (from which Borghini's book takes its title), where Vecchietti gathered about him the important literary and artistic figures of his day.

14. F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, Florence, 1846, II, p. 574.

15. Now Via Strozzi. Cf. Agostino Lapini, *Diario fiorentino*,

ed. G. O. Corazzini, Florence, 1900, p. 199 n. 2.

16. *Il Satirino*, more popularly known as *Il Diavolino*, has been removed to the Terrazzo di Saturno of the Palazzo Vecchio. The one presently on the Palazzo Vecchietti is a copy. Cf. F. Kriegbaum, "Der Bildhauer Giovanni Bologna," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 1952/53, p. 65, figs. 36 and 37, and A. Lensi, *Il Palazzo Vecchio*, Florence, 1911, p. 255.

17. Documents in the State Archives of Bologna date the *scudi* decorations in 1564. Cf. W. Gramberg, *Giambologna, Eine Untersuchung über die Werke seiner Wanderjahre*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 21, 97 (XXXI) and p. 99 (XLV).

18. Cf. F. Kriegbaum, *op.cit.*, figs. 36 and 37.

support stretches into pockets to accommodate the hooves of the *Diavolino*. Here the tautness allows the shape of the hooves to show through. Giambologna endows even nonfigurative decorative detail with a similar textural character. In the bases on which rest the Saints in the San Antonio Chapel, done before 1588, the architectural support is covered by contrasting flexible matter (Fig. 7). Eluding specific material identification, this ornament nonetheless bears clear suggestion of a metamorphosis from rigid architectural form to an apparently soft and pliant mass.

We may note here that this is an approach to ornament which has significant parallels to that type of decoration which flourished in Holland, Germany, and Flanders in the seventeenth century, and which the Germans so descriptively call *Knorpelwerk* (cartilage-ornament), ornament which imitates the peculiarities of this physical phenomenon. Giambologna's northern origin provided him with a taste for fantasy and a disposition for textural description that made him an early representative of such tendencies on Italian soil.¹⁹ It is the same facet of his style that led Giambologna to an important innovation in fountain architecture. For the geometrically defined bowls of earlier cylix type fountains, he substituted a basin that was curiously folded, bulging, and elastic in form.²⁰ Giambologna's pupil Tacca carried this suggestion of organic pliancy to an extreme in the twin bronze fountains that he made for the Piazza della SS. Annunziata in Florence. Here the fleshlike character of surface is unmistakable.²¹

An approximate date for Giambologna's design for the façade (and one which we would accept for the London bozzetto as well) is supplied by the Palazzo Vecchietti itself. There the name Bernardo Vecchietti, in abbreviated form, followed by the date 1578 (and once 1579) is continuously inscribed across the architraves of windows on both façades, and once across the architrave of a door in the cortile.

Agostino Lapini's *Diario fiorentino* confirms the probable accuracy of these inscriptions. In a note for July 9, 1578, he writes, "si cominciò a murare la cantonata di bozzi che è fra Ferravecchi che la murò Bernardo Vecchietti."²²

It has been pointed out that naturalistic elements distinguish, in particular, the first Italian works by Giambologna, as yet undisturbed by the influence of the Florentine mannerists. But it is not possible to trace this artist's career in regular gradations beginning from naturalistic origins and ending in the classicizing manner of his late period. The style of our clay head (done at least two decades after Giambologna's arrival in Florence), as well as other work by the sculptor, points to deviations from such a regular chronological development.

While Giambologna's major contributions to sculpture have been those regarding posture, composition, and space, I have emphasized here only those qualities which are consistent with the character of the London head—a work which though small in scale, is of very high quality.²³

19. In the history of ornament it is always difficult and sometimes impossible to establish causal relationships with certainty. Nonetheless, art historians have already pointed to Italy for cinquecento prototypes of *Knorpelwerk*. Among examples cited are: Buontalenti's altar steps of 1574 now in S. Stefano, Florence; Frederigo Zuccheri's cartouche designs; and the architectural masks on the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome (1590). (Cf. Werner Körte, *Der Palazzo Zuccari in Rom: sein Freskenschmuck und seine Geschichte*, Römische Forschungen der Bibl. Herziana, Bd. XII, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 15ff.; and W. K. Zülch, *Die Entstehung des Ohrmuschelstiles*, Heidelberg, 1932.) One might imagine that the bizarre aspects of *Knorpelwerk* would be in keeping with the Italian mannerist's feeling for fantasy, but this type of decoration never took root there with the tenacity and to the degree with which it flourished in the north in the seventeenth century, and where it was mainly used in connection with the silversmith's art. This approach to ornament demands an elasticity in surface and specific textural description which Giambologna provided in Florence. While further speculation might tend to cloud rather than

clarify relationships here, I should like to point out that Giambologna's contact with the north was extensive throughout his career.

20. For illustration cf. Bertha H. Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1933, figs. 120, 122 and 123.

21. *ibid.*, fig. 127.

22. Agostino Lapini, *op.cit.*, p. 199. The consoles that support the balconies and frame the stone heads on the façade are very close in design and structure to the base that supports the figure of Christ on Giambologna's Altare della Libertà in Lucca, which is dated in 1579—a work contemporary to our façade (for illustration of the Lucca Altar see Brogi 12621). The stone head in the cortile, originally, must have had a place on the façade like the other two stone heads and must have been removed in subsequent alterations. An iron railing now replaces the original stone balustrades of the balconies.

23. It may be mentioned here that other bozzetti in the same collection have already been accepted as having been done by Giambologna's hand. One is the attenuated and beautiful

The concern with finish and specific description might have had negative results in the hands of a lesser artist, but in Giambologna's case it manifests itself in unrivaled perfection of form and in extreme subtleties of surface, form, and light.

[NEW YORK UNIVERSITY]

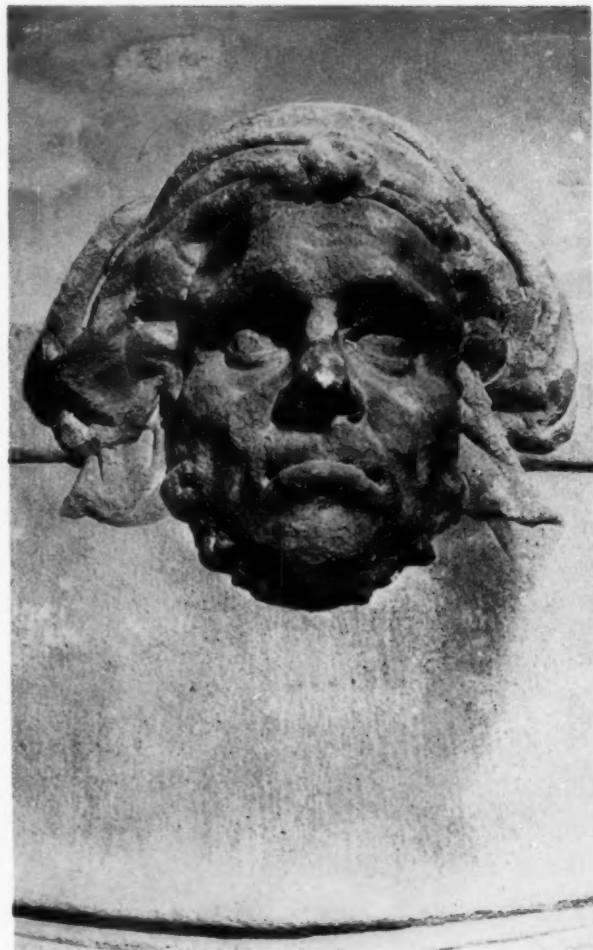
wax sketch, *Florence as Victor over Pisa*, an early study for the marble group now in the Bargello (Gramberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 80ff., figs. 22 and 23). Another is a clay *Neptune* which Kriegbaum believed was a study for the competition for the Fountain of Neptune in Florence, but Gramberg a study for

the fountain in Bologna. (Cf. F. Kriegbaum, "Der Meister des 'Centauero' am Ponte Vecchio," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1928, p. 135; and W. Gramberg, *op.cit.*, p. 37, fig. 5.)





1-2. Mask, Terracotta. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



3-4. Stone Relief, Florence, Cortile of the Palazzo Vecchietti



5. Giambologna, Bronze Mask. Detail from Fountain of Neptune, Bologna



6. Mask, Terracotta (side view). London, Victoria and Albert Museum



7. Giambologna, Sculptured Base. Florence, San Marco, San Antonio Chapel

THE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FOUNTAIN OF TREVI*

HEREWARD LESTER COOKE, JR.

THE Fountain of Trevi stands in the center of Rome, in a small square near the intersection of the Via del Corso and the Via del Tritone. On the façade of a palace which forms one side of the square, a structure resembling a Roman triumphal arch encloses three niches separated by giant engaged columns. In the central niche a colossal figure of Oceanus riding on a chariot of sea shells is drawn by two marine horses which plunge through a welter of rocks and water, guided by Tritons. The rocky base extends across the entire façade of the palace, and the water, flowing from a central outlet below the chariot, cascades into a large basin below. Allegorical figures and reliefs decorate the attic, panels, and niches which flank the main sculptural groups (Fig. 1).

For almost two hundred years this fountain has been one of the most popular monuments of Rome, and yet, in spite of a wealth of documentation, the identity of the artists responsible for the design has remained in doubt. Tradition has it that Bernini made plans for the entire project and that these plans were adopted a hundred years later by the architect Nicola Salvi and the sculptor Pietro Bracci. The credit for the design therefore has been divided in various proportions among these three artists. The purpose of this study is to discover, after a critical evaluation of the source material, whether these traditional attributions are justified in any way, and if they are not, to determine who should be given the honor for having designed this most famous monument.

The early history of the Acqua Vergine, which supplies this fountain, and of the system of aqueducts which brought the water to Rome, is known through references by several ancient authors, notably Frontinus,¹ the first century historian, who stated that Agrippa decided to augment the water supply of Rome by building an aqueduct from a source which had been found about eight miles east of the city in marshy ground bordering the Via Collatina. According to legend, a young girl showed the source of the water to soldiers of Agrippa who were foraging in the neighborhood and this was the origin of the name Acqua Vergine. A second account was given by Pliny, who derived the name from the fact that the source was close to the stream of Hercules, from whose grasp the Acqua Vergine appeared to be escaping.² Yet a third source attributed the name to the purity of the water, which since ancient times had been regarded as

* The following study was made possible by grants from the American Academy in Rome and the American Philosophical Society. I wish to thank Dr. Rensselaer Lee for invaluable help and advice during the preparation of this article; Dr. Lily Ross Taylor whose editorial experience and knowledge have been of the greatest value in preparing the text for publication; Dr. Giorgio Rosi for help with the Roman archives; Dr. Lydia Bianchi, Director of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e Disegni, Rome, for permission to publish the drawings in the Gabinetto Nazionale (see Figs. 17, 18, 19, 21, 25); Dr. Ludwig Schudt of the Hertziana Library in Rome for permission to publish the drawings in the Berlin collections (see Figs. 9, 11, 12, 13, 23, 26); Dr. Rudolf Wittkower for help with the sections concerning Bernini; Dr. C. Pietrangeli for permission to publish the painting in the Museo di Roma (see Fig. 10); and Dr. Guido Standardo, Director of the Isti-

tuto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, for permission to photograph and publish the prints in the Institute's Library (see Figs. 27, 31, 32).

1. "[Agrippa] cum iam tertio consul fuisset, C. Sentio Q. Lucretio consulibus, post annum tertium decimum quam Juliam deduxerat, Virginem quoque in agro Lucullano collectam Romam perduxit. dies quo primum in urbem responderit, quintus idus Iunias invenitur. Virgo appellata est, quod quaerentibus aquam militibus virguncula venas quasdam monstravit, quas secuti qui foderant, ingentem aquae modum invenerunt. aedicula fonti adposita hanc originem pictura ostendit." Quotation from Frontinus in Rodolfo Lanciani, *Topografia di Roma antica. I Commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli aquedotti*, Rome, 1880, p. 120.

2. Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxi. 3.

the clearest and most healthful of all the waters brought to Rome.³ Although all these legends were known and repeated in the guidebooks at the time when the present fountain was built, the story of the virgin showing the source to the soldiers seems to have been the most generally accepted, and in the eighteenth century it was officially recognized when a plaque showing the episode was authorized to be placed on the fountain.⁴

In 19 B.C. the aqueduct was completed and the water flowed into the Terme of Agrippa behind the Pantheon.⁵ Frontinus states that over the source of the water at the beginning of the system of aqueducts a small structure was built,⁶ on which there was a picture of the girl showing the spring to the soldiers of Agrippa. There is no mention of a monument to mark the outlet. It is possible that the plaque which was found with an inscription recording the restoration of the aqueducts by Claudius between A.D. 41 and 54 was part of a fountain.⁷ This, however, is conjecture, and in fact there is no reliable record as to the appearance of either of these monuments (if they existed at all). The engraving showing both fountains which was reprinted in the guidebooks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can hardly have been based on any positive evidence (Fig. 3).⁸

For the next five centuries, although there are records of changes in the distribution of the water inside Rome⁹ and of repairs to the aqueducts, there is no mention of a monument to mark the outlet, and presumably therefore the original structure, if it existed, continued to be used during this period.

Following the destruction of the aqueducts by the Gothic armies during the siege of Rome (537-538), the city remained deprived of this supply for approximately 140 years. It was not until the pontificate of Adrian I (771-795) that the channels were finally restored, and the water, after alterations to the ancient channels, was brought into the Campo Marzio.¹⁰ Although this new outlet was used without interruption for the next 650 years, there is no mention of a monument to mark the site. It was not until 1450 that Nicholas V, after overhauling the entire system, decided that a fountain should be built to commemorate his work and mark the outlet of the precious supply of water. The architect selected for the commission was Leon Battista Alberti,¹¹ and under his direction the channels inside the city were altered so that the outlet could be moved to a position close to the present site in the Piazza dei Crociferi. To commemorate the work Alberti designed a façade fountain which consisted of a simple rectangular plaque with three square openings from which the water flowed into a basin extending along the south side of the square. Graphic representations of this fountain are scarce, but the detail from a print by Tempesta (Fig. 2)¹² serves to give an idea of the beauty and simple dignity of the monument, which apparently was without decoration except for the coat of arms and an inscription. There are no records of further changes until the pontificate of Pius IV (1549-1565), who, after further increasing the supply of water, ordered a new basin to be built against the side of the Palazzo

3. Cassiodorus *Lib. Epist.*, vii. 6.

4. See below p. 162 and p. 167.

5. See map of aqueducts in Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, London, 1897, fig. 19.

6. A gem, presumably antique, described in *Joannis Chislettii Canonici Tornacensis Aqua Virgo . . . in vetere annulari gemma*, Antwerp, 1657 (republished in Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum*, iv, pp. 1783ff.) reportedly had a portrait of Agrippa on the obverse and a representation of the building at the spring on the reverse. It is just possible that the print in the guidebook was taken from this gem. See Thomas Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Rome*, Oxford, 1935, pp. 167ff.

An eighteenth century guidebook (Anon., *Roma antica e moderna*, 1781), mentions that the relief plaque on the present fountain which represents the scene of the discovery of the source was copied from the picture on the first century spring-

house. This does not seem likely since the plaque on the fountain is typically Baroque in design (see fig. 1).

7. Bartolomeo Marliani, *Urbis Romae topographia*, Roma, cum privilegio Pauli III Pont. Max., p. 96; Lanciani, *op.cit.*, p. 125. This plaque throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was built into the attic of the arch on the Via del Collegio Nazareno.

8. Bart. Marliani e P. Alessandro Donati, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, Rome, ca. 1555.

9. Lanciani, *op.cit.*, p. 121, from Frontinus, ii. 84.

10. G. Baracconi, *Rioni di Roma*, Città di Castello, 1889, p. 193.

11. See George Dehio, "Die Bauprojekte Nikolaus V und L. B. Alberti," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1880, pp. 241-257.

12. Reprinted from Hermann Egger, *Römische Veduten*, Vienna, 1931, II, p. 33.

Poli (known in the eighteenth century as Palazzo Conti) with watering troughs for horses and cattle. The only alteration to Alberti's fountain was the addition of a small ornamental structure for the central stream, of which an anonymous print (Fig. 6) in an eighteenth century guide-book¹³ may be an accurate representation. Beneath the arms of Nicholas V and the accompanying inscription, are three lion heads, from whose jaws the water flowed in trefoil streams. The lateral outlets appear to have remained unaltered.¹⁴

Plans for a new fountain designed by Guglielmo della Porta to take the place of Alberti's façade were approved in 1563, during the pontificate of Paul V, by a special commission which had been appointed to supervise the restoration of the channels. For this purpose della Porta obtained the services of five artisans;¹⁵ and less than a year after the designs had been approved, the new fountain was completed. This structure does not seem to have excited the admiration of the chroniclers or of the writers of contemporary guidebooks, who mention it only as the outlet for the Acqua Vergine and never describe it in detail. The print by G. Maggi (Fig. 4),¹⁶ dated 1625, shows two basins, below a façade of superimposed columns, and indicates that the general plan followed a familiar pattern for the late sixteenth century¹⁷ without the addition of sculpture or arms.¹⁸

I

In 1629 Urban VIII (1623-1644) decided that the principal outlet of the Acqua Vergine must be adorned with a monument to equal the magnificence of the outlets of the Acqua Paola and Felice, and therefore ordered his favorite architect Gianlorenzo Bernini to prepare plans for a fountain which would be the wonder of Rome and of the world.

Since the tradition has persisted that the present fountain is in some way derived from these plans, a summary of the evidence which has a bearing on this aspect of the problem may help to separate fact from fiction and to establish the bounds within which speculation is justified.

The site chosen by Bernini was the north side of what is now the Piazza di Trevi, where the monument could be seen from the pontifical palace on Monte Cavallo.¹⁹ A design was accordingly submitted which included not only a project for the fountain but also for an enlarged piazza, and a proposal to tear down many of the buildings which intervened between the fountain and the papal palace.²⁰ The Pope approved the plan and authorized Bernini to dismantle the tomb of Caecilia Metella in order to provide himself with building materials. Later (as a result of active opposition by the populace of Rome) the order to tear down this popular landmark was rescinded.²¹ The plans for the fountain however proceeded, and in 1643 many houses were razed between the Piazza di Trevi and the Monte Cavallo, with the object of enlarging the piazza and improving the view from the papal palace. The outlets for the fountain were also moved at this time to their present position on the northwestern side of the Piazza where the substructure of the proposed fountain, presumably in accordance with the plans of Bernini, was built.

13. Reprinted from *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1777.

14. Giuseppe Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo, diviso in otto giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma*, Rome, 1777, pp. 178-180. Alberti's work is described in the survey of the fountains of Rome by Luigi Callari, *Le Fontane di Roma*, Rome, 1954, p. 50.

15. Two masons, two stucco workers, and an inscription cutter. See Callari, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

16. Reprinted from H. Egger, *Römische Veduten*, II, p. 33.

17. For example the fountain for the Acqua Felice by Domenico Fontana (1585-1587).

18. It is not certain whether this façade was built around Alberti's façade, or whether the fifteenth century work was destroyed to make room for the new structure. Since the

position of the fountain seems to be the same in the print by Maggi, Alberti's plaque was probably left *in situ*.

19. T. Amayden, *Diario della città*, MS 1852, Bibl. Casanatese, 1640.

20. Callari, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

21. V. P. Romano, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari . . .*, Rome, 1937. This tomb, built by the son of Crassus, consisted of a cylindrical structure of travertine originally set on a square base of the same material. The decorations consisted of a frieze of ox heads and garlands in low relief, which formed a decorative band around the upper part of the cylinder. The records do not state which part of the monument Bernini intended to use.

For reasons which are not certain, possibly because of the threat of war,²² lack of funds, or public hostility to the project with its attendant tax, work on the fountain did not proceed according to plan, and with the death of Bernini in 1680, the project was abandoned altogether.

Very few positive facts are known about Bernini's plans for the actual fountain. One source mentions that the design included a "statue of the Virgin and other ornaments."²³ However, it is difficult to see how a statue of the Virgin could have been incorporated into the present design without radically altering the character of the whole monument. Another source of information is a drawing by the Dutch painter Lievin Cruyl dated 1687 (Fig. 5)²⁴ which shows the water coming in apparently equal quantities from the center and either end of a semicircular ramp. There can be no doubt that this is an accurate representation of the base of Bernini's fountain, and the significant point is that there is no clear connection between this substructure and the present design except for the fact that both are for façade fountains.²⁵ None of the known drawings by Bernini helps to clarify this problem. Frascchetti claimed that a sketch in the Chigi collection attributed to Bernini (Fig. 8) was the basis for the present design.²⁶ This shows a seated figure of Oceanus, trident in hand, being drawn through the water on his chariot by marine horses. The water cascades from the jaws of three marine monsters, and behind his swirling cloak a Triton rides postillion blowing a conch shell. Stylistically it would be difficult to accept the drawing as the work of Bernini,²⁷ and in any case the arrangement of the figures does not bear more than a general iconographic resemblance to the final designs approved in the eighteenth century.²⁸

The evidence from eighteenth century sources is equally negative. In 1732, when the foundations for the present fountain were being built, one of the chroniclers mentioned specifically that the base structure of Bernini's fountain was destroyed in order to make place for the newer building.²⁹ A drawing (Fig. 25), which can be identified as an engineer's project for the redistribution of the water supply for the present fountain, shows a plan of the present fountain superimposed on that of the *antica fontana*.³⁰ This must refer to Bernini's substructure, and again it can be seen that there is very little similarity between the two plans. As we shall see later there are four eighteenth century drawings which can be identified as preparatory drawings for the fountain as it exists today; and it is impossible to reconcile these with the supposition that the design was inherited even in a general outline from the preceding century. Perhaps the clearest proof that Bernini was not in any way associated with the present design is the negative fact that his name was never mentioned by any of the many archivists of the eighteenth century in connection with the present fountain,³¹ although it was built at a time when his reputation both as

22. Ubaldini, *Vita Angeli Colotii*, Rome, 1673; cf. Cällari, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

23. *ibid.*

24. Reprinted from H. Egger, *Römische Veduten*, II, pl. 78.

25. This is the most accurate of several drawings and prints which represent the fountain between ca. 1680 and ca. 1710, all of which show approximately the same arrangement for the base of Bernini's fountain. The travertine blocks from the tomb of Caecilia Matella could have been used for such a design. These were cut to form concentric rings around the central tomb chamber, and could have been incorporated into the foundations of a structure such as this without extensive recutting.

26. Stanislaw Frascchetti, *Il Bernini*, Rome, 1900, pp. 128-136, and sketch, p. 81.

27. Neither the calligraphy of the signature nor the style of pen-and-wash technique is consistent with Bernini's style.

28. A drawing in the Albertina Collection of Vienna (fig. 7) should be mentioned in connection with the project of Bernini. This sketch (see H. Egger, *Römische Veduten*, II, p. 33) shows a richly ornamented façade, surmounted by the

arms of Urban VIII. There are three principal outlets for the water below three niches. In the central niche is a statue of a female figure which, although lacking the usual attributes of the Virgin, might have been intended as such. Stylistically this drawing could not be attributed to Bernini; however, the papal arms, the tripartite division, the volume of water, and the statue of the Virgin make it probable that the sketch was in some way associated with the project of Urban VIII.

29. Diary of Valesio, MS in the Capitoline archives, Rome, Carte 322, note for October 1732. This manuscript consists of a daily record of events in Rome during the early and mid-eighteenth century, and will be referred to continually during the narrative account of the building of the fountain.

30. A note on the back, which, judging from the calligraphy, was written during the eighteenth century, states that this drawing was by Nicola Salvi, the architect in charge of building operations between 1732 and 1751. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e Disegni FN 32053; here reproduced for the first time by kind permission of the Director.

31. See below p. 155ff.

an architect and as a sculptor was at its height. It is difficult to believe that there was a concerted plot on the part of all those concerned to hide the fact that the fountain's design was based on a project left by the most famous Roman artist of the seventeenth century.

The record therefore is clear. There is no evidence for supposing that the plans of Bernini were either known by or in any way influenced the designers of the present fountain during the eighteenth century. The Trevi monument is derived from Bernini only in the sense that all the sculpture in Rome until the classic revival at the end of the eighteenth century was Berninesque in one way or another. Actually it represents the fusion of several trends which were indigenous to eighteenth century Rome, only one of which was the pattern set by Bernini. Undoubtedly the Fountain of the Four Rivers in the Piazza Navona was the direct archetype of the Trevi monument. The combination of a rigid symmetry expressed by the obelisk with the seemingly fortuitous asymmetry of the rough natural rocks below, which again contrast with the white marble figures and the ever-changing patterns of the cascading streams of water, was a juxtaposition of elements which Bernini invented, and which are also found in the Fountain of Trevi. At this point, however, the derivation ends, and new ideas definitely originating in the eighteenth century were superimposed on the seventeenth century archetypes.³²

II

After the death of Bernini in 1680 there is no record of further plans to alter either the piazza or the unfinished fountain until the pontificate of Clement XI (1700-1721), who, soon after his election, decided to reconsider the whole problem of building a suitable outlet for the famous spring. The decision was no doubt prompted by the fact that a severe earthquake in 1703 had disrupted the system of aqueducts, and extensive repairs had been necessary before the Acqua Vergine was restored to its original course. In 1706 accordingly, for the Concorso Clementino two projects were set as problems to be solved by the contestants:³³ the first was the façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano, and the second was a project for a façade fountain. Although the conditions for the competition did not specify that this was intended to be the Fountain of Trevi, the volume of water and the proportions of the façade make it clear that this was the intention. The three prize-winning designs, which are in the archives of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, have no direct bearing on the present study since they show very little except the type of late seventeenth century mannerism which received official approval. Ideas from Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona and from Carlo Maderna's Fontana Paolina on the Janiculum were combined against architectural settings which owed much to Borromini.

None of these designs seems to have been approved by the Pope, who instead decided on a project which would satisfy both his archaeological interests and his ambition to create a monument which would rival any of those built by his predecessors.³⁴ He proposed to move and reas-

32. For the association of Bernini with the Fountain of Trevi and the possible derivation of his ideas from Pietro da Cortona, see Rudolf Wittkower and Heinrich Brauer, *Die Zeichnungen des Lorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 133 and 148; H. Voss, "Die Fontänen Berninis," *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1910, pp. 127-129; S. Fraschetti, *op.cit.*; A. Muñoz, "Le Architetture di Pietro da Cortona," *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 195. Pietro da Cortona is known to have prepared a design for a façade fountain in the Piazza Colonna earlier in the seventeenth century, and it has been suggested that this was the basis for the design subsequently adopted by Bernini. The sketches in the Chigi Collection which evidently were preparatory drawings for this fountain show a semicircular colonnade above a group of figures on a rough-cut base. The

basic plan is not unlike that shown in the drawing by Cruyl (fig. 5). Actually this general plan was not rare at the time. There are several drawings in the Louvre, attributed to the school of Le Brun which show this same basic arrangement. See Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles*, École Française, VIII, Paris, 1913, pp. 101, 102 and 106.

33. This was the first of these contests, which were held at irregular intervals throughout the eighteenth century. Entrants were generally either students at the newly founded Accademia di San Luca or young practicing artists in Rome.

34. Clement XI devoted most of his early life in Rome to amassing the collection of antique sculpture which was to form the nucleus of the present Vatican collection.

semble the Antonine column, a monolith of red granite approximately seventy-five feet in height,³⁵ and to place it on a foundation of rough-cut rocks in the center of the Piazza di Trevi. The water was designed to cascade over these rocks into a large circular basin surrounding the plinth.

Among the Bracci family archives an elevation was found which corresponds with this description (Fig. 20).³⁶ A second drawing (Fig. 21), in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e Disegni at Rome, is almost certainly a plan for the same project. Near the top of the column shown in the Bracci drawing there are the arms of Clement XI, and therefore little doubt can exist that these two drawings represent the project described as being favored by that Pope. This plan evidently included a considerable enlargement of the piazza and the building of a palace set back from the fountain, with the main entrance opposite the monument. The vestibule from this entrance led to a cortile beyond, from which presumably the fountain would have been seen framed as in a proscenium arch.

This plan, which owed much to Bernini's designs for the fountain in the Piazza Navona, was never realized owing to lack of funds in the papal treasury, and the fountain remained as it had been left in 1680 except for certain minor practical changes to the distribution system.³⁷ Thus matters stood at the death of the Pope in 1724.

The next step was taken by the successor to Clement XI, Benedict XIII (1724-1730) who, after five years of his tenure of office, was persuaded by the officer in charge of water supplies, Mons. Giacomo Sardini of Lucca, to consider again the problem of building a suitable fountain for the Acqua Vergine. For this purpose Sardini promised to raise the money and to take personal charge of the entire operation. Permission was granted, and Sardini called in a Neapolitan stucco worker, Paolo Benaglia, to design a fountain according to Sardini's ideas. Benaglia, who was described by Valesio as "a man with bold ideas but with little or no knowledge of his art,"³⁸ accordingly made a model under the direction of Sardini which Valesio found inappropriate and ridiculous. "At the top" he writes "there is a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary, according to the wishes of His Holiness. Below this figure, to the left from the spectator's point of view, there is the Virgin Trivia, born from the head of the prelate, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter, who with one hand points to the Blessed Virgin and with the other to the water which comes out of some rocks. On the right there is a standing figure of Roma, armed, and close to her, without any reason, there is a sow with a litter of pigs. Alongside the Virgin Trivia there is a unicorn. Crowning this beautiful work there is an inscription as elegant as the one composed by the same prelate for the fountain in the courtyard of the brothers of Minerva, which reads: 'The Virgin Trivia gives the waters of Minerva.' I forgot to add that the sow is provided with something to eat, there being two oak trees on either side."³⁹

This design apparently pleased the Pope who, in July 1728, deposited a sum of money (2,400 scudi) at the Banco di Santo Spirito to be used by Sardini for the preliminary work on the fountain. On September 6 of the same year four pieces of marble were sent from Carrara to the studio of

35. Quarried in A.D. 106, and erected near the edge of the Monte Citorio; see S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929. The base had been excavated in 1703, and the shaft was found lying broken in several pieces in the Piazza Colonna.

36. Costanza Gradara, *Pietro Bracci, scultore romano, 1700-1777*, Milan and Rome, 1920, pl. 12. Gradara also mentions that in the Camuccini Collection, at Cantalupo in Sabina, there are drawings by Bracci and others for the sculptured groups. In spite of diligent search by the owners and curators of this collection, no trace of these drawings has been found. The drawing in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e Disegni, FN 32056, has the following inscription in seventeenth century handwriting: "Pianta delle Fonti da farsi di nuovo nella Piazza della Fontana di Trevi nel mezzo delle quali deve situarsi la Colonna Citoria con Pianta del

Piano Terreno della Nuova Fabbrica da farsi addietro de fonti con suoi annessi e connessi come in Pianta si videro con sua Piazza att. detto Fonte."

37. In 1707, after a loan of 60,000 scudi had been raised, a contract was granted to a certain Francesco Pavese to line sections of the aqueduct with lead, and in 1708 the outlets in the Piazza di Trevi were raised four palmi (ca. 3 feet); see E. Luzi, *Estratto dagli Annali della Società degli Ingegneri e Architetti*, Rome, 1905, p. 2. A painting in the Museo di Roma (fig. 10) evidently represents the fountain after these changes had taken place. The semicircular ramp had been destroyed, and supplementary outlets have been built above those already existing.

38. Diary of Valesio, July 5, 1728.

39. The reference to the sow and oak trees in fact was taken from the *Aeneid*, iii. 390-391.

Benaglia, presumably for the principal figures, and on September 10 Benaglia, in a "handwriting which gave little promise for the quality of his future work,"⁴⁰ contracted to complete the structure. The next year (1729) more marble was brought for Benaglia's use and two masons were hired,⁴¹ possibly to complete the model, since it is not certain that the design was ever approved in more than general terms. The question is of no importance because in the following year all work was suspended upon the death of the Pope (1730) and Benaglia's project, perhaps fortunately, was laid aside.

There are no drawings to supplement the scathing descriptions by Valesio and we are left without a visual record of what this scenographic display would have been like. It seems probable that the allegorical scene would have been in high relief, in keeping with Roman Baroque practices at the end of the seventeenth century, and it is possible that a drawing found in Berlin (Fig. 13), although it must be later (since the coat of arms belongs to the next Pope, Clement XII), gives some idea of the appearance of this project. There is one more note which should be added before we leave Benaglia's project. He is known to have sculptured the two figures of Fame which support the papal coat of arms over the center of the façade of the present fountain, and it is possible that these figures were elements in his design which he finished before 1730 and which remained in his studio until they were incorporated into the present design in 1735.⁴²

III

With the accession of the Florentine Corsini, Pope Clement XII (1730-1740), the history of the Fountain of Trevi entered a new and decisive phase. In spite of his 78 years, the new Pope inaugurated an energetic program of building in Rome. After calling Alessandro Galilei from Florence to proceed with the building of the Cappella Corsiniana in S. Giovanni in Laterano, and ordering designs to be prepared for a new façade of the same church, he decided to rescind the orders to proceed with the plans of Benaglia, and to reopen the problem of providing a suitable design for the main outlet of the Acqua Vergine. Although the record is not clear, according to Valesio he first invited four architects to submit designs for a new fountain.⁴³ The names of these men were not recorded, nor are there drawings or other indications to show us what kinds of plans were being considered. In any case none of these projects was found satisfactory, and in 1732 a second competition was ordered to be held and all the leading architects and sculptors working in Rome were asked to submit designs. The exact conditions are not known, but it appears from the drawings that there were no limitations imposed except that the façade of the Palazzo Conti must be used as the setting for the new fountain.

Sixteen designs were submitted which were exhibited to the public in the gallery on the Piazza del Campidoglio, at present the Capitoline Museum.⁴⁴ Pastor, in his *History of the Popes*, lists the names of six of the contestants:⁴⁵ Luigi Vanvitelli, 1700-1773; Pietro Bracci, 1700-1773; Nicola Salvi, 1679-1751; Giovanni Battista Maini, 1690-1752; Edmé Bouchardon, 1698-1762; Lambert Sigisbert Adam, 1700-1759. The composition of the jury appointed to judge these designs is not known, but it is likely that Clement XII himself made the final selection. It is also probable, in keeping with the practice observed for the competitions organized by the Accademia di San Luca, that the entries were anonymous, since no names appear on the front of the designs which can be identified as entries.

The design of the young French sculptor, Lambert Sigisbert Adam, who was a pensioner at

40. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 8. Without the excellent analysis of the information contained in the Capitoline archives, by Ing. Luzi, the present study would have been very much more difficult.

41. Simone Moretti and Matteo Caramaschi.

42. See below, p. 161.

43. Diary of Valesio, December 1730.

44. A. Thirion, *Les Adams et Clodion*, Paris, 1885, p. 57.

45. Ludovico Barone von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medioevo: compilata dell'archivio segreto pontificio e di molti altri archivi*, Rome, 1933, xv, p. 790.

the French Academy, received the first prize by unanimous consent,⁴⁶ and it was decided that the fountain should be built after his design without delay. This decision was later reversed for reasons which are not altogether clear. The Romans, according to the Abbé Calmet,⁴⁷ were incensed that a foreigner should have been given such an important commission, and prevailed upon the Pope to rescind his award. The explanation given by Adam himself was that, by not asking permission to enter the competition, he had incurred the enmity of the director of the French Academy, Charles Wleughels, and that his recall to France had therefore been arranged as a punishment for his breach of discipline.⁴⁸

The project of Adam is known only through literary references,⁴⁹ which describe the design as composed of seven figures, each twelve feet high, and although it is clear that the final form of the central group in the fountain of Trevi was not based on the prize-winning design, it is worth noting that the theme of Neptune was a recurring motif in the later work of Adam, and some of his figures bear a marked resemblance to the central figure of Oceanus. It is possible therefore that certain elements of Adam's design, which presumably remained in Rome, were incorporated into the final work.

The project of the other French contestant, Edmé Bouchardon, also cannot be positively identified. However, in a drawing (Fig. 15) by this sculptor,⁵⁰ which is thought to be a sketch for the proposed fountain in the basin of Neptune at Versailles and therefore later than the contest of 1732, again there are features which recall the central group of the Fountain of Trevi, particularly the direction of movement following the cascades of water, and the triangular grouping of the principal figures. As in the case of Adam, the project of Bouchardon may have remained in Rome, and certain of his ideas may have been adapted for the final design. Though it is tempting to recognize certain affinities between the designs of French sculptors working at Versailles and the Fountain of Trevi, the theme of Neptune riding on his shell chariot was actually one of the preferred motifs for Baroque fountains long before either the project at Versailles or that in Rome were undertaken,⁵¹ and there is no reason to assume that there was a direct influence or connection just because this same theme was used simultaneously in both places.

After the decision not to award the contract to Adam, the project of Luigi Vanvitelli was accepted. The son of a Dutch landscape painter, Gaspar Van Vittel, who had joined the colony of Dutch painters in Rome during the late seventeenth century, this artist later became one of the outstanding architectural designers of Europe. His project, which has been attributed on the basis of a penciled annotation,⁵² was found among the Bracci family archives (Fig. 16). It consisted of a façade divided horizontally by three rows of windows, with a projecting central structure decorated with Corinthian columns. The forward part of the fountain was enclosed with a balustrade on either side of which two curved stairways led up, around, and behind the central basin, in the center of which there was an allegorical figure of Rome. Three unidentified drawings preserved in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e Disegni in Rome (Figs. 17-19),

46. Thirion, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

47. Dom Calmet, Abbé de Senones, *Bibliothèque Lorraine, ou l'histoire des hommes illustres*, Nancy, 1751, p. 57.

48. See Adam's letter to his patron, written in 1741, *Archives nationales*, Paris, p. 1186.

49. Cf. the letter already referred to, and Dom Calmet, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

50. *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles*, II, no. 795.

51. Another drawing at Versailles should be cited in this context (fig. 14, reprinted from Pierre de Nolhac, *Les Jardins de Versailles*, Paris, 1906, p. 130), which, although it cannot be dated with accuracy and is of uncertain authorship, is probably a project for the fountain of Latona at Versailles. This shows Neptune in a niche, standing on a chariot of sea

shells drawn by marine horses, and the general pose is certainly not unlike the Trevi group. This drawing belongs to a series (Louvre, *Inventaire général des dessins*, nos. 8195, 8113, 8165) of uncertain origin by followers of Le Brun, which is undoubtedly French and probably dates before 1732, when the design for the Trevi monument was being decided. The Grotto of Neptune in the gardens of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, which probably dates from the sixteenth century, contains such a figure, and this certainly was only one of many such garden ornaments which included this theme.

52. Gradara, *op.cit.*, pp. 77 and 78. For further information regarding Vanvitelli's project see Mario Rotili, "Il Progetto vanvitelliano per la Fontana di Trevi," *Samnium*, xxvii, Naples, 1954, no. 1-2. Other Vanvitelli projects in the Gabinetto Nazionale are FN 32057, and possibly 32055 and 32058.

which are not inconsistent with the style of Vanvitelli, are, in all likelihood, also project drawings by this architect. They show that two alternatives were proposed, one with and the other without the curved lateral ramps, which were intended probably both as sightseeing balconies and as the main entrances to the Palazzo Conti.

For reasons which are not given by contemporary chroniclers Vanvitelli's project, after being considered for several weeks, was also discarded and in September 1732 the Pope finally decided to award the contract to yet a third contestant, Nicola Salvi, to whose account the sum of 17,000 scudi was immediately deposited.⁵³

There are four other drawings which can be identified as probable entries in the 1732 competition.⁵⁴ The sketch in the Gabinetto Nazionale (see Fig. 17), attributed to Vanvitelli,⁵⁵ shows a return to the project of Clement XI, which was to include the Antonine column, in this case incorporated into the design of the Palazzo Conti. The sketches in Figs. 9, 11, 12⁵⁶ have been attributed, tentatively, to Benaglia,⁵⁷ since some features of the iconography correspond to the description given by Valesio, as we have already noted. But the Corsini arms make it more probable that these were entries in the 1732 competition, in which Benaglia was not listed as a competitor; however, since it is not certain that the list of entrants given by Pastor is complete,⁵⁸ it would be hazardous to attempt to attribute these sketches to any one of the competitors.

IV

Work on the building of the fountain began in the same year, 1732, concurrently with the construction of the façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano and the Palazzo della Consulta, by Galilei and Fuga respectively, both Florentine compatriots of the new Pope.

Fortunately it is possible to reconstruct step by step the process of perfecting the design and of building the monument since there are precise accounts in the archives and diaries of contemporary chroniclers. The record will be treated in detail, not only because it helps to establish the authorship of the various parts of the monument, but also because it gives a valuable index of the procedures followed in building a structure of this type during the eighteenth century in Rome.

The architect who was finally chosen, Nicola Salvi, was born in Rome in 1699.⁵⁹ He was first a poet and a member of all the literary societies of Rome; later he had turned to philosophy and mathematics, and finally to architecture. His education in this field was standard for the eighteenth century, consisting of an intensive study of Vitruvius, making detailed drawings of ancient monuments, and apprentice work under a qualified master (in this case Antonio Cannevari, who was a state architect under John V of Portugal and who later came to Rome to work for Clement XI). Salvi achieved his first success in Rome by designing a fireworks "machine," a towering scenographic structure of stucco, wood, and paint, replete with allegorical figures and theatrical trappings which had been built in the Piazza di Spagna (Fig. 24), to celebrate a state occasion.⁶⁰ These "machines" were temporary stage sets, often with *tableaux vivants*, set up for certain festivals, and the association of Salvi with them is significant since the genesis of the design for

53. Diary of Valesio, September 16, 1732.

54. Cällari, *op.cit.*, states that in the Accademia di San Luca in Rome "the entire project of Salvi is preserved, from which it can be judged to what extent he depended on the plans of Bernini and Vanvitelli." In spite of careful search by the archivists, these drawings have not been found, nor are they listed in the catalogue.

55. Gabinetto Nazionale FN 32055.

56. Bibliothek des Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums, Handzeichnungen nos. 1013-1017. As a result of the reorganization of the Berlin Museum after the war, the present whereabouts of these drawings is not certain.

57. Valerio Mariani, "La Fontana di Trevi," *Arte ed arti decorative*, Rome, 1927-1928.

58. von Pastor, *op.cit.*, XXXIV, pp. 502f.

59. Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, Bassano, 1785, II, p. 252.

60. Milizia, *ibid.*, p. 251. This seventy-foot structure was raised over Pietro Bernini's Fontana della Barcaccia in the Piazza di Spagna, and represented the Temple of Glory. It was described with admiration by Milizia, who mentioned that all four façades were modeled in relief, not painted as was the custom.

central groups on the Trevi monument clearly owes more to this type of theatrical designing than to traditional fountain architecture.⁶¹

None of the preparatory drawings for the fountain which exist in various collections has been attributed to Salvi,⁶² nor are there a sufficient number of his drawings for other projects available for study to make attributions on the basis of style. However, among the Bracci family archives an elevation drawing (Fig. 22) was found which, in my opinion, should be considered as Salvi's original working drawing. This shows the architectural details of the façade with minor exceptions exactly as they exist today;⁶³ everything else has been changed, the rock base, the cascades of water, the shell chariot and the sculptured groups. Since it is known (see below p. 164) that certain of these features were designed in their present form by 1739, it follows that the drawing must antedate that year.⁶⁴ The fact that the inscriptions to Clement XII and Benedict XIV are shown, whereas that of Clement XIII is omitted, strengthens the claim that this drawing is the work of Salvi, since the former inscriptions were placed on the monument while he was in charge of the building and the latter was considerably later (see below p. 168). This pencil study was probably a working diagram which was kept in the studio, and was used as a sort of base grid on which details such as inscriptions could be tried out before they were placed on the model. The provenance of the drawing, among the Bracci family archives, is also logical, since Salvi's master plan would naturally be kept with the other documents relating to the fountain and would be passed on to his successor.

A second drawing in Berlin (Fig. 23) is more difficult to place. It is obviously a preparatory sketch for the Trevi Fountain, since Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia are included,⁶⁵ and the architectural design corresponds approximately to the final version. However, almost all the details are different. The niche has a square top, the central figure has a different pose, and the proportions of the windows bear little or no resemblance to the present designs. The most curious feature is the coat of arms which shows the Medici fleur-de-lys surmounted by a French crown. Since none of the Farnese family, who use this device, was in any way associated with the planning of the fountain, this coat of arms must have been intended as the royal insignia of France. Again there is a possibility that this drawing was an original project by one of the French entrants, Adam or Bouchardon, in the competition of 1732 and that Salvi plagiarized the fundamental ideas for his own design.⁶⁶ This, however, does not seem likely. A more probable explanation is

61. See Hans Tintelnot, *Barocktheater und barocke Kunst: die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Fest und Theaterdekoration in ihrem Verhältnis zur barocken Kunst*, Berlin, 1939.

62. Milizia, *op.cit.*, p. 251. This reference contains a statement that Salvi made four drawings for the fountain. However, Milizia did not specify that these were for the competition, and it is possible that he was referring to variations of the original project after successive revisions had been found necessary (p. 335). Alberto Cassio, *Corso dell'acque antiche*, Rome, 1756, pp. 306-307, mentioned that the plan of Salvi included a dolphin from whose jaws the main stream of water flowed. None of the representations of the fountain incorporates this feature. He added that the rock base symbolized the sea, and that the jets of water which spring from the rock base symbolized the springs of sweet water which rise among the bitter waters (of the sea): "una vasta, ed alta Nicchia, entro cui si avesse a collocare la statua piucche gigantesca rappresentante l'Oceano, con sotto al piede una Balena (Mostro che suol galleggiare nel più alto dei mari), dal di cui zeffo sboccar dovesse tutta l'acqua dilatata in più canali, e divisa in molti rivi tra i scogli, in saliente, in lagunette, che in varie guise scorrevano per tutta la lunghezza dei medesimi scogli artefatti, i quali occupavano da un canto all'altro la facciata dell'ornato palaggio. Nel mezo, dove si apriva la strada il grosso canale della Balena, sorgevano due Tritoni in laterale

distanza frenando due Cavalli marini, dalle cui zampe uscivano due fontane salienti. Dovea finalmente la copiosissima acqua così bizzarramente partita precipitar dallo scoglio dentro gran tazza ondeggianti, quasi simboleggiasse l'Oceano: nel di cui vasto letto salivano da fistole collocate a fior d'acqua altri Fonti, come fossero Vene di preziosa acqua dolce in mezzo alle amare."

63. There are very minor differences, for example in the design of the balustrade along the top of the attic.

64. Gradara, *op.cit.*, Kurt von Domarus, *Pietro Bracci, Beiträge zur römischen Kunstgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Strasbourg, 1915. The suggestion that this drawing is the work of the sculptor Maini (who was subsequently commissioned to make the central group) seems unreasonable, since there is no plausible explanation of why a sculptor should make such a painstaking rendering of the architectural details and of the rock-cut base (neither of which are drawn absolutely accurately), when he was not concerned directly with the designing of either (see p. 164). When this drawing was first published by Domarus it was attributed to Maini and it was claimed that this represented his finished design before Bracci made his alterations. Gradara, p. 78, republished the drawing in 1920 with the same attribution.

65. See below, p. 169, for the iconography.

66. See above, p. 156.

that this is one of the alternate plans submitted by Salvi, and the royal badge of the Bourbons was chosen purely by chance.

The first stage in the construction of the fountain was apparently the building of a model of the façade; this was started directly after the contract was granted in 1732 and was finished in July 1733, when there is a record of payment for this phase of the work.⁶⁷ This model (ca. five and a half feet) is still preserved in the Museo di Roma, and is an accurate replica of the façade as it exists at present with one important exception. The giant engaged Corinthian pilasters were carried around to either side of the Palazzo Conti, which is not a feature of the present building. Although there are signs on this mock-up that a model of rough-cut rock base had been attached to the façade, and also that the niche statues (preserved in the Museo di Palazzo Venezia) were in place, these elements of the design are no longer attached to the model.

The money to pay for the fountain was raised partly by lottery, the tickets for which were sold for the express purpose of providing funds for the monument. This may be inferred from an entry in the Diary of Valesio for September 1733, which refers to placards with complaints printed on them which were hung on the unfinished columns (of the central niche?) of the Fountain of Trevi by those who had won in the lottery, but had not been paid promptly by the Papal authorities.⁶⁸ (This method of financing had certain implications. The first is that if the design of the projected work was not found satisfactory by the Roman public, they could show their disfavor by not subscribing to the lottery, and this gave them a certain measure of control and also the privilege of passing judgment on the work. No other monument built during this period was the subject of so much criticism and it is possible that this was the result of the system of raising money.)

It appears that the building of the façade proceeded without interruption during the first part of the next year (1734). An entry in the Archivio dello Stato for May 1734 contained an order to clear a passage through the blocks of travertine which were impeding the traffic through the Piazza dei Crociferi (presumably this square, which adjoined the Piazza di Trevi, had been found to be a convenient location for the stock pile of building materials).

In this year there is a record of payments being made to two sculptors, Paolo Benaglia and Gian Battista Maini.⁶⁹ The former may have received his remuneration for work done in 1728 when he was in charge of the previously approved project (see above p. 154), or possibly this was a payment for his work on the coat of arms surmounting the façade which he apparently designed and carved.⁷⁰ The second sculptor, Maini, is mentioned for the first time in connection with the fountain during this period, and since he played an important part in the subsequent history of the project he deserves special consideration.

Gian Battista Maini was born in 1690 in Cassano Magnago (Lombardy) and came to Rome when he was nineteen, where he worked in the studio of Camillo Rusconi until 1725. Later he transferred as an associate to the studio of Filippo Valle (who succeeded him as sculptor for the fountain in 1752; see p. 166). He was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca in 1728 and became a *principe* in 1746. Apart from these bare facts, very little is known. Works attributed to him in Rome and Siena⁷¹ reveal an artist of great technical skill, working within the general

67. Diary of Valesio, July 1733.

68. It is not certain how common this practice was in Rome. Lotteries, which had been used for public financing for many years in Genoa, were first introduced in Rome by Alexander VII in 1660, the beneficiaries at that time being indigent orphans, five of whom were selected annually (also by lot) to receive the prize money. This practice was greatly extended by Benedict XIII in the early eighteenth century, and at this time specific public works were financed in this way. The most

outstanding example of this system was the draining of sections of the Pontine marshes in 1767, which was entirely financed by this means (*Enciclopedia italiana*, s.v. "Lotto").

69. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

70. It is known that the marble, which had been quarried in 1730 for the fountain, had been stored in his studio (Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 12) and presumably he was trustee for other materials during the interim period.

71. Thieme-Becker, *Künstler Lexicon*, 1929, XXIII, p. 578.

framework of the Baroque tradition. The limited degree of individual expression tolerated in this period, however, makes it difficult to determine his stature as an artist.

Maini's preparatory drawings for the fountain are not known, nor is it certain from the records whether he or Salvi was responsible for the design of the central group. Probably the "idea" and general arrangement were included in the original project by Salvi, and execution of the figures was entrusted to the sculptor. Of the various drawings relating to the fountain there are only two which can be considered as preparatory sketches for the Oceanus group. The first (Fig. 26) shows a pyramidal group of Tritons and sea monsters surmounted by a striding figure of the sea god. The water cascades all around the rocky base, and behind there is a colonnaded portico between the wings of a palace. Thus the basic ideas of the final design are all present, and implicitly stated in the sketch, even though the details are entirely different. It is possible that this drawing was the entry submitted by Maini in the competition of 1732, and the judges decided to incorporate his ideas into the architectural framework suggested by Salvi. A second drawing (Fig. 35) seems to endorse this supposition. This shows the niche behind drawn exactly as it is in Salvi's design, and therefore it can hardly be doubted that this is a preliminary study for the Trevi group after Salvi's idea was accepted. Oceanus here stands on his shell chariot, while the Tritons and sea-horses flounder at his feet, and the water in this case pours through, rather than around, the central group, which consequently is much less isolated from the architectural surroundings than in the previous design. The interest in these drawings lies in the fact that they both represent a sculptural approach to the problem, and since Maini is the only sculptor known to have been involved in the early stages of the design, the attribution of these drawings to him seems justified.

Work on the fountain did not proceed smoothly. The records state that in the same year (1734) Salvi as a result of bitter criticisms from all sides, was ordered to stop work. The difficulty seems to have been over the design of the façade of the Palazzo Conti, and a month later there is a second entry for payment of workmen who were commissioned to paint on the façade certain of the architectural details.⁷² From this one might conclude that some features of Salvi's design had been found unacceptable (although who was the judge of this is not stated), and it was decided to paint the various elements on the facing of the palace so that the effect of any alterations could be seen.

Work meanwhile on the sculptural elements of the design evidently continued without interruption, since there is a record for the following spring (May 1735) of payments made to four sculptors, Bartolomeo Pincellotti, Agostino Corsini, Bernardino Ludovisi, and Francesco Queirolo, who had been chosen to make the four allegorical figures which stand over the central columns. These figures represent not the four seasons, as has been suggested, but, viewed from left to right, "the amenities of the meadows and gardens," "the gifts of the autumn," "the fertility of the fields," and "the abundance of flowers."⁷³ The respective sculptors were paid in advance the modest sum of 100 scudi apiece. A small sketch with presumably the required attributes of each figure was first drawn by Salvi. This was then copied by Antonio Bichierari, whose name was often mentioned among the prize winners of the Accademia di San Luca for his excellence as a figure painter. This full scale rendering in gouache was then given to a carpenter who prepared the armature; the sculptors were then required to model the figure in accordance with the painting. Finally, when this had been approved, the stucco figure was copied in stone, in this case travertine.

72. Diary of Valesio, November 17, 1734: "per poter segnare tutta la pianta della facciata con tutte le colonne per fontana di Trevi, per provare più volte la centina sopra le colonne e sotto il collarino." It seems that certain details of the engaged Corinthian columns of the façade had been disapproved, and in order to judge the effect of subsequent alterations, the architect had been ordered to outline on the façade itself the details of his changed plan. This tracing would then

be used as a guide for the stonecutters, who in this case would be working under the direct supervision of the architect.

73. "L'amenità de' prati e de' giardini," Pincellotti; "Le dovizie dell'autunno," Queirolo; "la fertilità de' campi," Ludovisi; and "l'abbondanza dei fiori," Corsini. Left to right from the spectator's viewpoint. Panvinio et al., *Roma moderna* . . . , Rome, 1741, pp. 198 and 200.

The papal arms for the center of the cornice were designed and sculptured in the same way.⁷⁴ The final cutting of the arms was by Pincellotti, and the two figures of Fame which support the shield were the work of Paolo Benaglia,⁷⁵ the same sculptor who had been originally awarded the contract by Benedict XIII in 1728. (These two winged figures may have been survivals of a previous design, since there is no mention in the archives of preparatory work for these figures by either Bichierari or Salvi.)

In May 1735, evidently the arms and attendant figures were completed, since there is an entry in the Diary of Valesio for that date stating that His Holiness paid 5,000 scudi for these decorations and was unwilling to pay more for the construction of the basin and the "water exhibition."

In June of the same year there was an entry mentioning that a bill for a "big model for the convenience of the sculptors and stonecutters" had been paid. Since the façade and the figures in the upper register had been completed, this must refer to a model of the central groups, rock base, and possibly the basin. These may have been added to the existing mock-up of the façade, because it is improbable that these features would have been designed separately or in isolation.

Later in the year (1735) the central niche was completed and the two sculptors who had been assigned to this work, Poddi and Pincellotti, were paid. The inscription commemorating the building of the fountain by Clement XII was also designed and painted in place on the architrave at this time. The procedure was similar to that followed for the allegorical figures. The text was first suggested by the papal authorities; Salvi then requested permission to alter certain words for the sake of design, and when this was granted, the most famous inscription designer of the day, Pietro Marchesini, was called in to paint the design on the architrave. Only after several months, when this had been approved by all concerned, was permission granted to incise the inscription.⁷⁶

In November of 1735 the travertine "in prodigious quantities" for the rock base was transported to the site, and a new lottery was organized from which Salvi was paid 10,000 scudi "to proceed with the building of the fountain."

In July of the following year (1736), the Corsini arms were finished, and the same two sculptors who had completed the niche, Poddi and Pincellotti, were recorded as having been paid for carving the keys, papal crown, and festoons of laurel leaves which surround the curving shields. A second entry recorded the death of a workman who had fallen from the scaffolding which had been built to hoist this group into position over the architrave.

At this point work was again suspended, and there is a record of payment to a carpenter for constructing a fence of boards to prevent people from depositing garbage in the basin of the unfinished fountain. It was not until December 1736 that the papal arms were in place, and shortly afterwards work again seems to have come to a standstill, since there are no further records until August of 1737, when various "elegies," according to Valesio, were composed by dignitaries and presented to the Pope requesting him to continue the work.

Early in 1738 building was resumed, and "the masons continued with their work on the basin of the fountain." In the same year there is the first specific reference to work on the central Oceanus group. An order of September 1738 recorded the payment of 50 scudi directly to G. B. Maini "the sculptor of the aforesaid ornament, which we ordered to be paid on the account of 5,000 scudi, which is the sum agreed upon for the making of the big central figure and the groups of marine horses with their Tritons."⁷⁷ It is worth noting that the payment was made not through Salvi, but directly to Maini, who had been awarded a contract separate from the

74. Diary of Valesio, November 17, 1734.

75. This may have been the work for which Benaglia was paid in 1734 (see above, p. 159).

76. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

77. Diary of Valesio, September 1736.

other work on the fountain. This suggests that the central sculpture was considered an independent project, and was entirely under the supervision of Maini.⁷⁸

Work on the fountain, presumably on the rock base, continued through 1739, when an additional 10,000 scudi were paid to Salvi. The entry adds with a note of impatience "a work which has cost much, and shown few results." In the same year the marble for the central group and the base reliefs was quarried, cut according to the specifications of Maini, and transported from Carrara to the sculptor's studio.⁷⁹

A year later, in March 1740, the figure of Oceanus, evidently modeled in clay, was put in place, "in order to finish it with modeling stucco."⁸⁰

Clement XII died in the same year, and this date marks the end of the first phase of the building program. Fortunately, supplementing the written record, we have an accurate and dated print (Fig. 27) issued in the previous year by order of the Pope as part of a series extolling his building achievements. This shows the façade exactly as it appears today; the sculptural groups resemble closely those shown in the drawing in the Bracci archives (see Fig. 22) and are evidently based on the same prototype (although the relief plaques curiously are not represented). The rock-cut base also appears almost precisely as it exists today, and includes such minor details as the fractured base of the pilaster on the extreme right and most of the sculptured plant forms. The importance of this print is that it provides a yardstick for testing the accuracy and dating of several other prints which were issued during this period to show Romans the probable appearance of their latest monument. Obviously if an apparently accurate engraving fails to show details which are included on this print, one may assume an earlier date, and conversely if details are included which are features of the finished design but are not shown in the print of 1739, the representation must be later. Some of these prints are clearly based on hearsay and no conclusions can be drawn; others, however, are evidently derived from the best available information, most of which seems to have been taken from the model, and in this case a date can be assigned with fair accuracy.

The first is by Giovanni Cassini (Fig. 29) and evidently represents the first "idea" of Nicola Salvi.⁸¹ Oceanus is shown with full regalia, crowned and with a scepter. The two marine horses, both of which are on the outside of their attendant Tritons, ride over the rock base and bear very little resemblance to the subsequent designs. The inscription to Clement XII, although it is shown, does not correspond to that on the monument. Therefore this print may be dated very soon after 1732, when the designs for all except the architectural details were still in a tentative stage of development. Since the print shows the pilasters on the right side of the Palazzo Conti—a feature which is present on the model in the Museo di Roma but not on the actual building—the print was evidently based on information derived from the model.

Another print, by Barbault (Fig. 30), represents the fountain with a low rock base, and without the fracture in the Corinthian pilaster on the right. The left marine horse is shown without wings, although the relief plaques are relatively accurate. The absence of all inscriptions (which Barbault always conscientiously copied) would indicate that this print represented the state of the design between 1734, when Maini according to the archives apparently finished the first version of the Oceanus group, and 1735 when the inscription to Clement XII was cut into the central panel. This print evidently was also based on information derived from the model since the side pilasters are shown.

78. *ibid.*, September 15, 1738.

79. *ibid.* May 1739. In 1738 Paolo Benaglia died, leaving only two winged figures of Fame as evidence of his ten years of work on the fountain. The sum of 30 scudi was paid to his widow for the rent of his studio, which had been used to store "statues and marbles" for the fountain; see Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

80. *ibid.* March 1740. In 1739 the water from the Rivus Herculaneus, near the source of the Acqua Vergine, was added to the main stem to increase the flow of water into the fountain.

81. Reprinted from G. Cassini, *Vedute antiche e moderne di Roma*, Rome, ca. 1732.

A print by Montagu (Fig. 28) shows the architectural details of the façade complete.⁸² The rock base, however, is inaccurate and lacking certain details which an engraver would be expected to notice; for example, the bottom of the Corinthian pilaster on the right is not fractured, and the basement window on the extreme left is not blocked in—both rather obvious features of the finished design. The Oceanus group is evidently copied from a model, and is not unlike the finished version, except that the shell chariot is not crenated, the left horse has prominent wings, and the right Triton is placed too far to the right. The decisive factor, however, in dating this print is the absence of the inscription to Clement XII, and therefore this print (evidently taken from the model, for the side pilasters are again shown) dates probably from 1734, when the first models for the Oceanus group were made, or 1735, when the inscription was put in place.

V

The successor to the papal throne, Benedict XIV (1740-1758) did not share his predecessor's ambitions as a builder,⁸³ nor did he welcome the heritage of unfinished monuments which had been left to him. His one desire as far as the Trevi monument was concerned seems to have been to finish the work as fast as possible with the minimum expenditure of state funds. Two days after he was elected Pope he sent two cardinals to inspect the fountain and report on progress. Their report is not recorded, but a week later Valesio made the following entry: "The paymaster deposited to the account of Maini . . . 150 scudi, which is the final payment on the account of 500 scudi. . . . This was agreed upon as the price to be paid for the completed model of the big central statue and the groups of marine horses and Tritons, placed in position on the Fountain of Trevi, with the further condition that any changes to the model, deemed necessary, would be made without further payment or reward."⁸⁴ From these references it is clear that provisional full-scale models of the Oceanus group were in place by 1740, although work on the rock base was still in progress; also that alterations, in keeping with Baroque practice, were expected to be made in these figures.

The conditional clause in the contract of Maini, by which he agreed to change his figures if necessary, apparently was the source of difficulties between himself and Salvi. Later in 1740 Valesio referred to the Fountain of Trevi again: "Work," he wrote, "has been suspended, because the sculptor Maini has refused to ruin his work by following the ideas of the architect." This difference of opinion over the design of the central figures led to an impasse, which six months later was still not resolved. "There being no compromise," wrote Valesio, "in the quarrel between the sculptor Maini and the architect Salvi, they began to tear down the models of the stucco figures of Oceanus, of the two Tritons, and of the two marine horses, one of which has wings."

Evidently there was an appeal to the authority of the Pope to settle this dispute since two weeks later Valesio noted: "His Holiness ordered the boards to be removed from the Fountain of Trevi to permit him to see that they were changing the models of the statues."

These changes were not suggested by the Pope, but by a neutral arbitrator, whose judgment both parties agreed to accept. The judge chosen was the painter Agostino Masucci, a pupil of Carlo Maratta, and at that time one of the leading painters in Rome. His decision was recorded in the archives: "I . . . have advised that changes should be made in the 'actions' of the Tritons, and in the position of the calm horse (right) with his Triton, and also that certain minor changes should be made to the principal figure. The sculptor has made small clay models with these changes which have satisfied both myself and the architect Signor Salvi."⁸⁵

82. Reprinted from G. Montagu, *Nouveau recueil de vues des plus beaux édifices de Rome moderne*, ca. 1734.

83. See von Pastor, *op.cit.*, xv.

84. Diary of Valesio, August 24, 1740.

85. "Io sottoscritto, essendo eletto dall'Em^o Sig. Card. Corsini per soprintendere il modello della Fontana di Trevi,

The Pope, it appears, was also satisfied with these changes, but was displeased with the delays and expense. "His Holiness, desiring to put an end [to work] on the Fountain of Trevi, ordered the architect to submit an estimate of the costs necessary to finish [this monument], and ordered 17,000 scudi to be paid [to Salvi] without making the statues and reliefs [in marble] but leaving them as they are at present in stucco. This most expensive undertaking was displeasing from the beginning."

Fortunately we have a number of engravings by which we can judge the nature and extent of these alterations. The first, by Giuseppe Vasi (Fig. 31),⁸⁶ is evidently based on information derived from the model since the opening into the Piazza dei Crociferi is shown approximately three times as wide as it is, and also the Corinthian pilasters on the side of the Palazzo Conti are visible. It shows the left marine horse with outstretched wings and the right Triton oriented towards the right. Both of these features were the subject of criticism by Masucci, as we noted above, and were changed in 1741. This print, therefore, can be assumed to represent the state of the design between 1736 and 1741.⁸⁷

A small engraving by Piranesi (Fig. 32) which was used as an illustration for a guidebook of 1741⁸⁸ seems to represent the monument during the period when changes were being made as a result of the disagreements between the architect Salvi and Maini. The side niches and panels are empty, and the figures both in scale and action are unlike either the early or the final versions. The engraving seems to be deliberately vague and possibly was drawn on the site from whatever information was available. The text adds: "... in the middle, under the great niche there will be seen Oceanus . . . which they are working on at the present time, the work of Sig. Maini. There will also be, according to the design, other statues and bas-reliefs."

Work seems to have proceeded without further interruption until February of 1742, when Salvi again decided to change some parts of the design, in this case of the rock base. "The architect after having used up mountains of travertine, has once more changed his mind. He has piled up rock to the base of the big niche. We are waiting to see what will happen."⁸⁹

Commentators, understandably were not sympathetic with these constant changes and delays; under a caricature of Maini, drawn in 1741, Pier Leone Ghezzi added: "A good sculptor, who should have made the figures of Oceanus and the Tritons . . . but when we shall see them, God knows, because the architect is so confused."⁹⁰

Salvi eventually decided on a satisfactory design for the base, which seems to be entirely his work, and the construction of the fountain proceeded at a desultory pace without further criticism from the chroniclers. In May 1744 Valesio records a payment of 7,700 scudi to Poddi and Pincellotti, the same sculptors who had built the niche and the papal arms over the architrave. At this time the car on which Oceanus stood, and, judging by the amount of payment, also the entire rock base was completed in travertine. It seems that the shell chariot was cut around the figure of Oceanus *in situ*, since there is no mention that this figure was moved after 1741. The commentators were at a loss to find words to describe the strange shell forms on which Oceanus stood. Valesio thought the two fanlike shapes under the central figure were like incrustated ears,

e perchè era così contento il Gio. Bat^{ta} (Maini) scultore, che operava d^o modello, ed ancora il Sig. Nicola Salvi, architetto di d^a Fontana . . . consigliai che si dovesse mutare l'attitudine delli Tritoni od il sito del Cavallo Placido col suo Tritone, e qual cosa ancora nella prima figura: e questa mutazione prontamente lo scultore ne fece modelletto di creta a soddisfazione mia e del Sig. Salvi, e questa mutazione fu idea mia, e non già sbaglio dello scultore e per ciò moltiplicata la fatica, e di questo ne faccio piena ed indubitata fede." (Archivio Capitolino, May 22, 1741)

86. Reprinted from Giuseppe Vasi, *Della magnificenza di Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1741.

87. A print issued with the engravings of Pietro Paolo Ver-

gelli, but not by him, in 1773 shows certain unique features. The tops of the relief plaques are rounded and the figures of Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia differ radically from other versions. Neither the shell forms nor the rock base are accurate. Since only the inscription to Clement XII is shown, this print evidently was based on information taken from the model between 1736 and 1741. Pietro Paolo Vergelli, *Le Fontane pubbliche delle Piazze di Roma . . . Intagliate da Pietro Paolo Vergelli*, Rome, 1773.

88. Panvinio et al., *Roma moderna distinta per rioni*, Rome, 1741, pp. 198 and 200.

89. Diary of Valesio, May 22, 1741.

90. *Racc. P. L. Ghezzi*, Vatican Library.



1. The Fountain of Trevi (photo: Anderson)



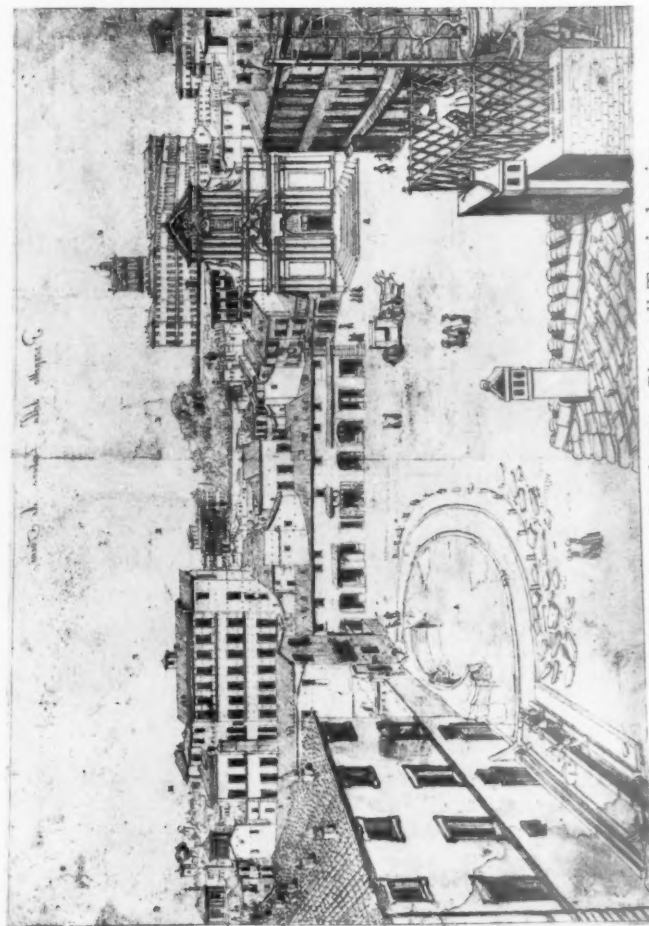
2. Engraving by A. Tempesta, 1593. Detail of city plan showing façade fountain built by Alberti



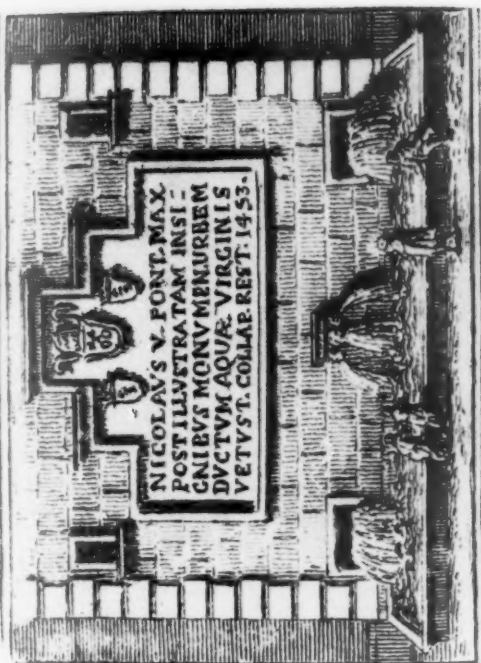
3. Anonymous print. Imaginary reconstruction of the ancient fountain for the Acqua Vergine



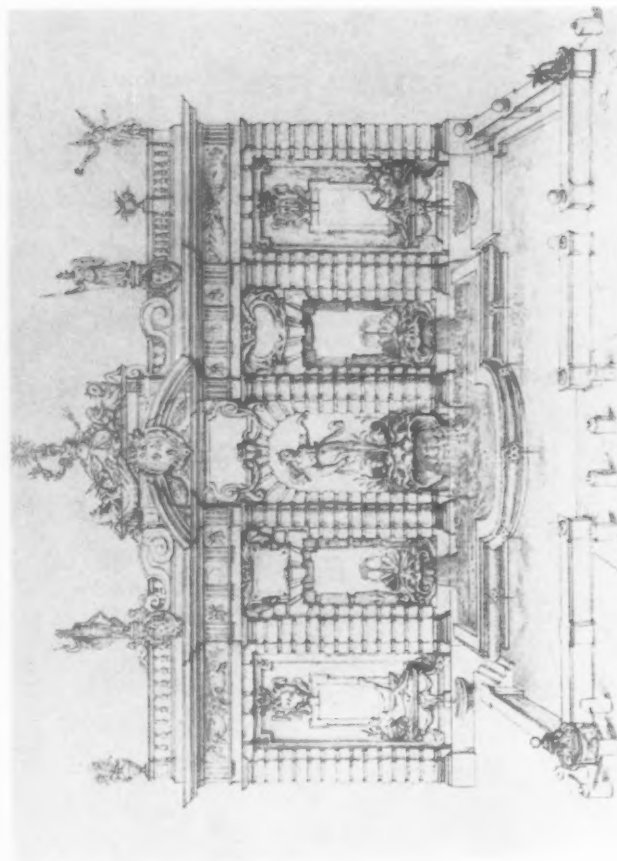
4. Engraving by G. Maggi, 1625. Detail of city plan showing fountain designed by Giacomo della Porta



5. Pen drawing by Lievyn Cruyl, 1685. Piazza di Trevi, showing the foundations of Bernini's proposed fountain



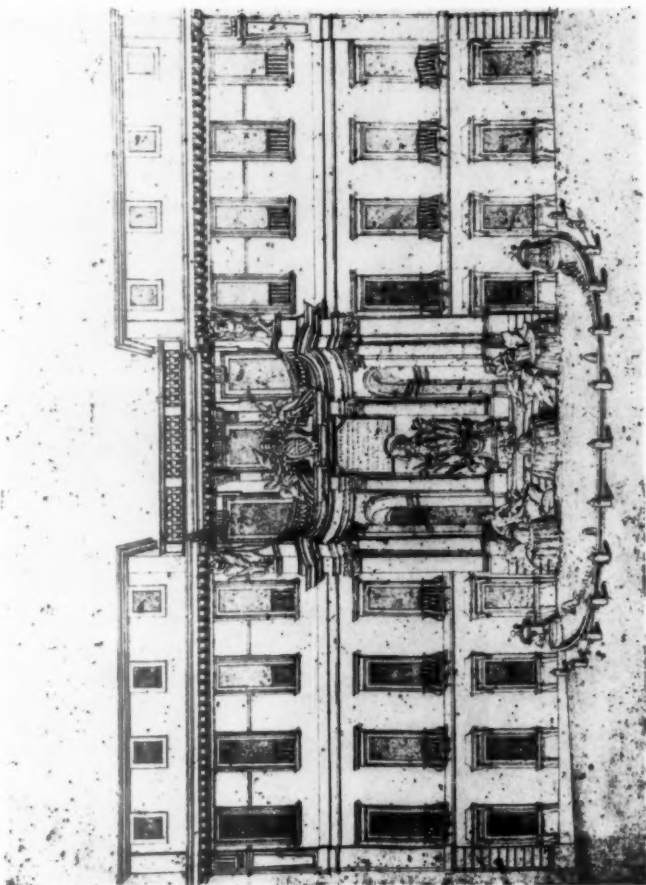
6. Anonymous print, 1777, showing alterations to Alberti's fountain



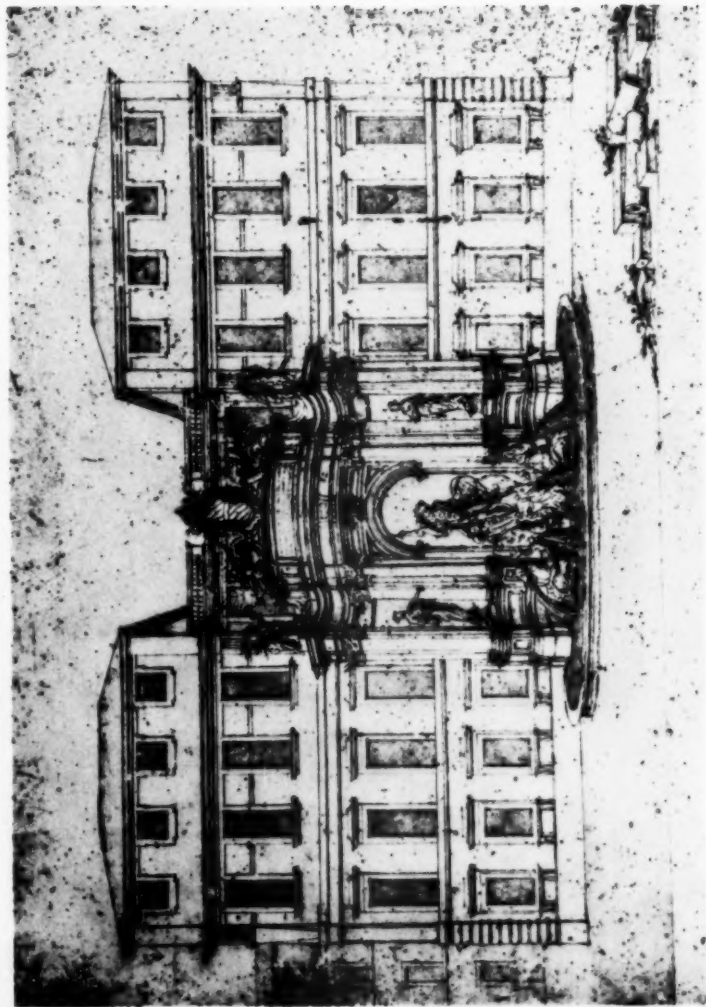
7. Anonymous drawing illustrating a fountain project of Urban VIII
Vienna, Albertina Collection



8. Sketch attributed to Bernini. Rome, Chigi Collection



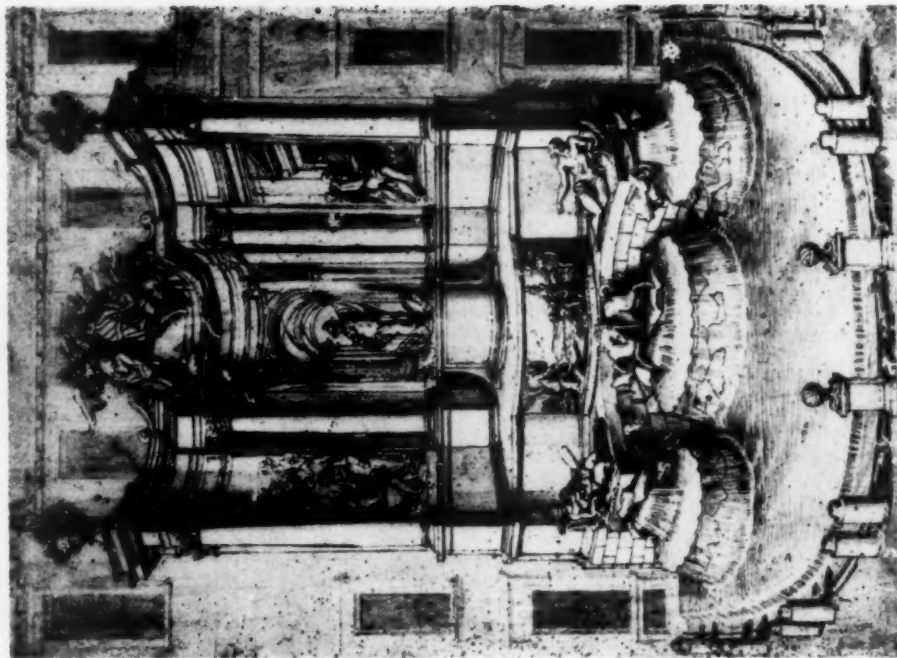
9. Anonymous drawing. Project for the Fountain of Trevi
Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums

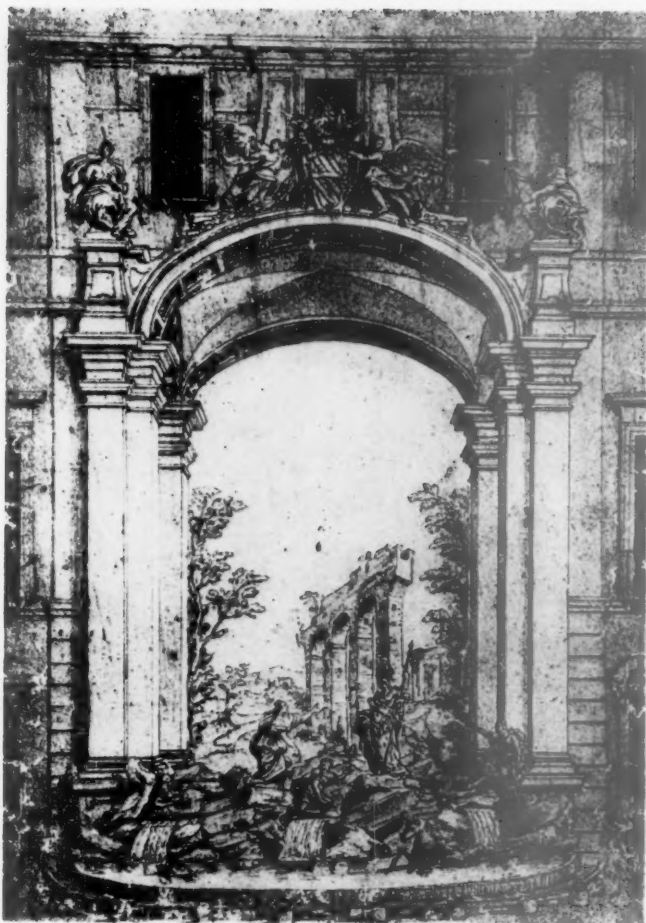


11-12. Anonymous drawings. Projects for the Fountain of Trevi
Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums



10. Anonymous painting, ca. 1710. Piazza di Trevi
Rome, Museo di Roma





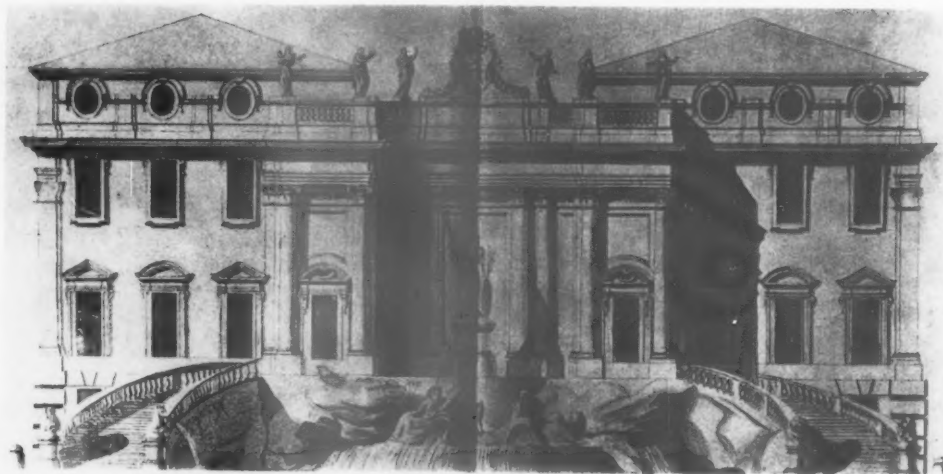
13. Anonymous drawing. Project for the Fountain of Trevi
Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums



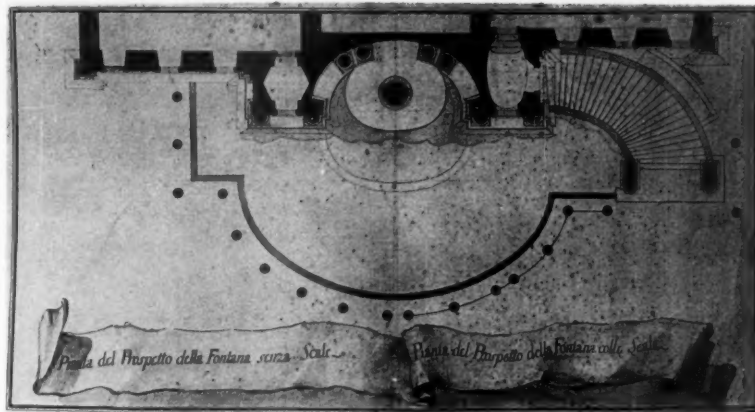
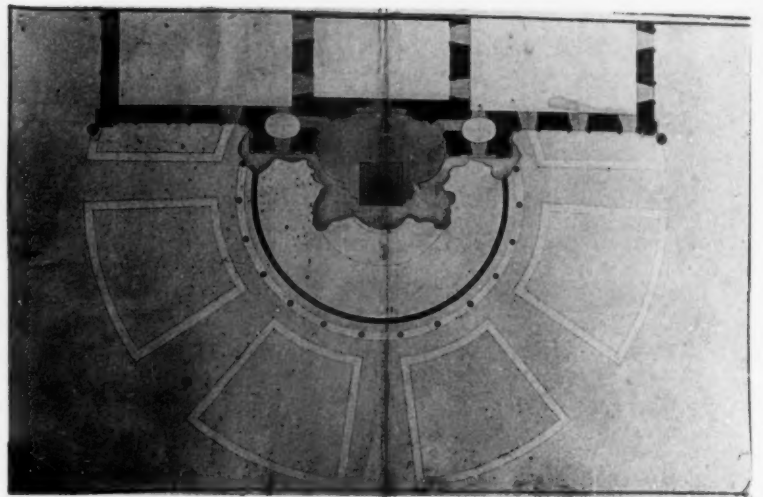
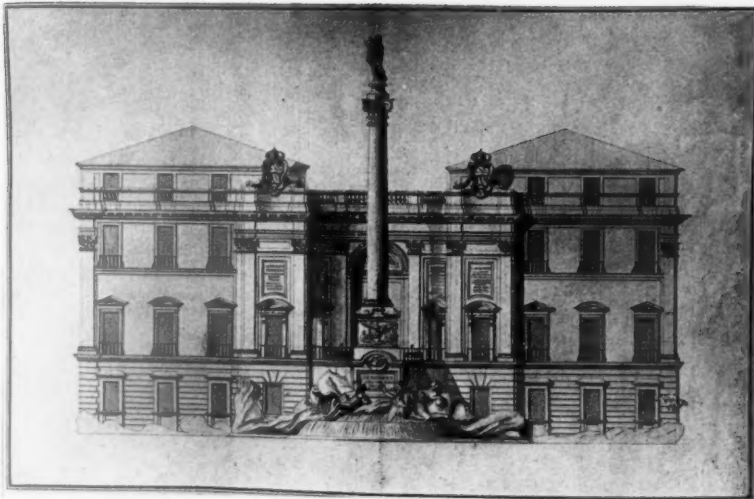
14. Drawing by a follower of Le Brun. Fountain project at
Versailles. Musée de Versailles



15. Drawing by Bouchardon. Fountain project at Versailles
Paris, Musée du Louvre



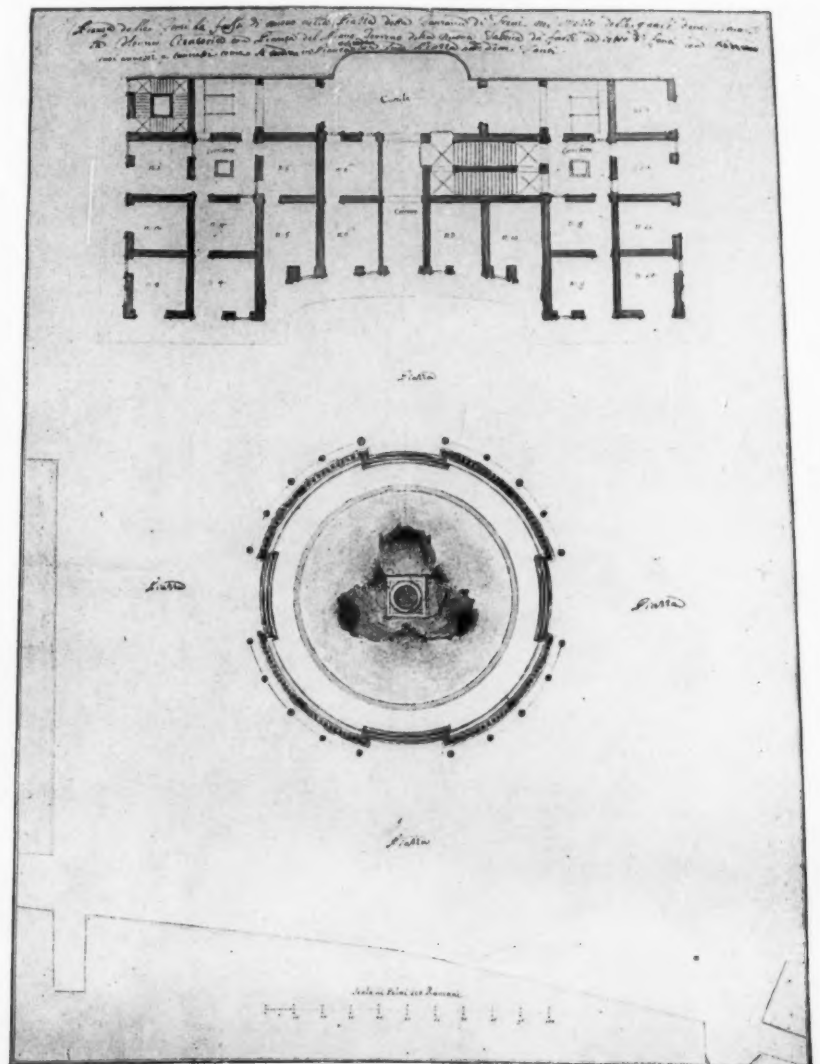
16. Drawing by Vanvitelli. Project for the Fountain of Trevi
Rome, Bracci family archives



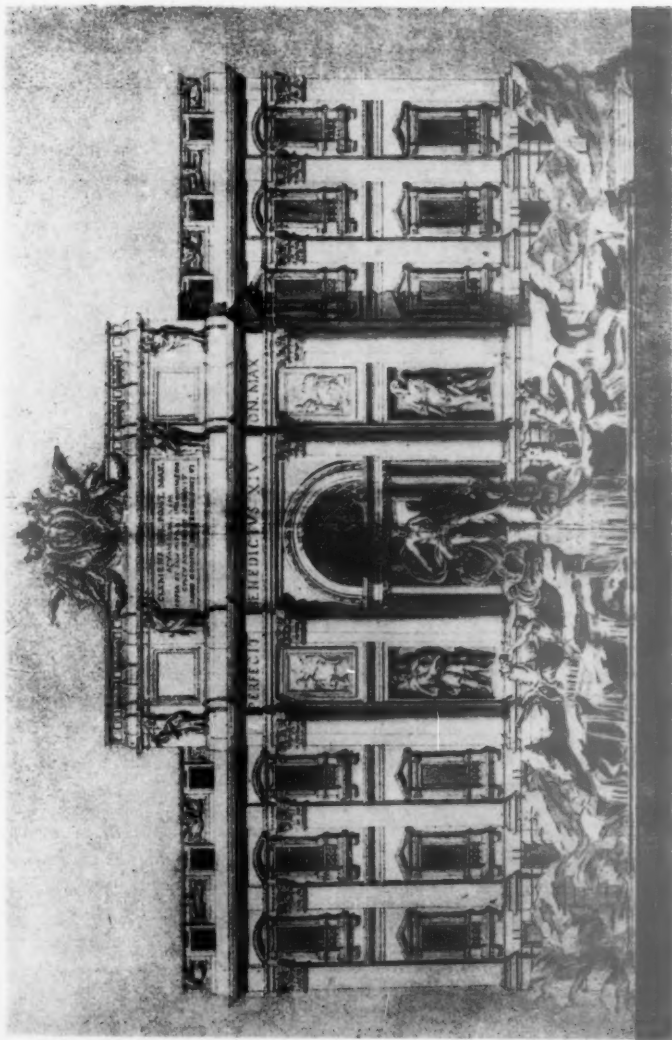
17-19. Drawing and plans attributed to Vanvitelli. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale



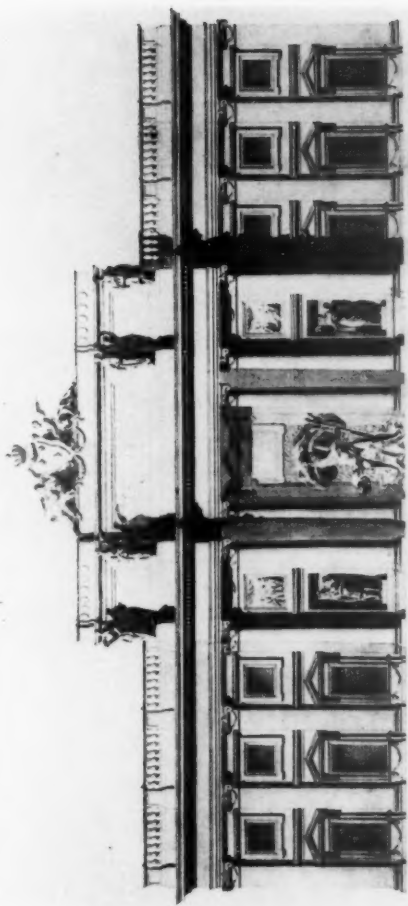
20. Anonymous drawing, ca. 1705. Project for the Fountain of Trevi
Rome, Bracci family archives



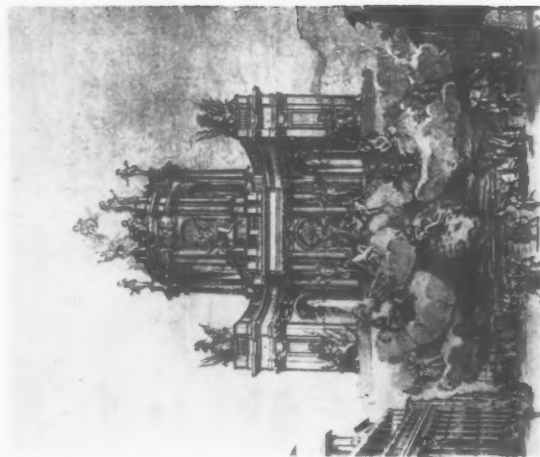
21. Anonymous plan, ca. 1705. The Fountain of Trevi
Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale



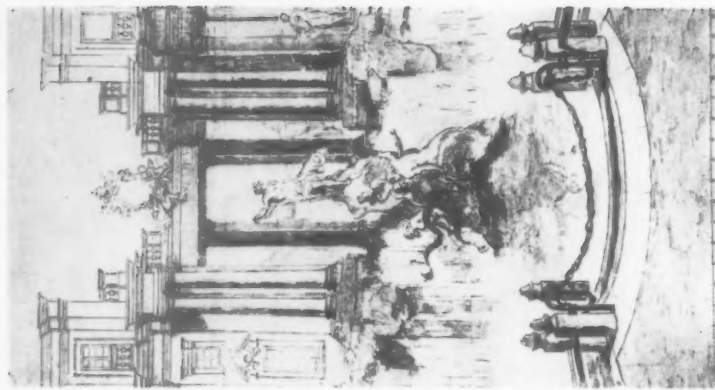
22. Working drawing for the Fountain of Trevi, here attributed to Salvi
Rome, Bracci family archives



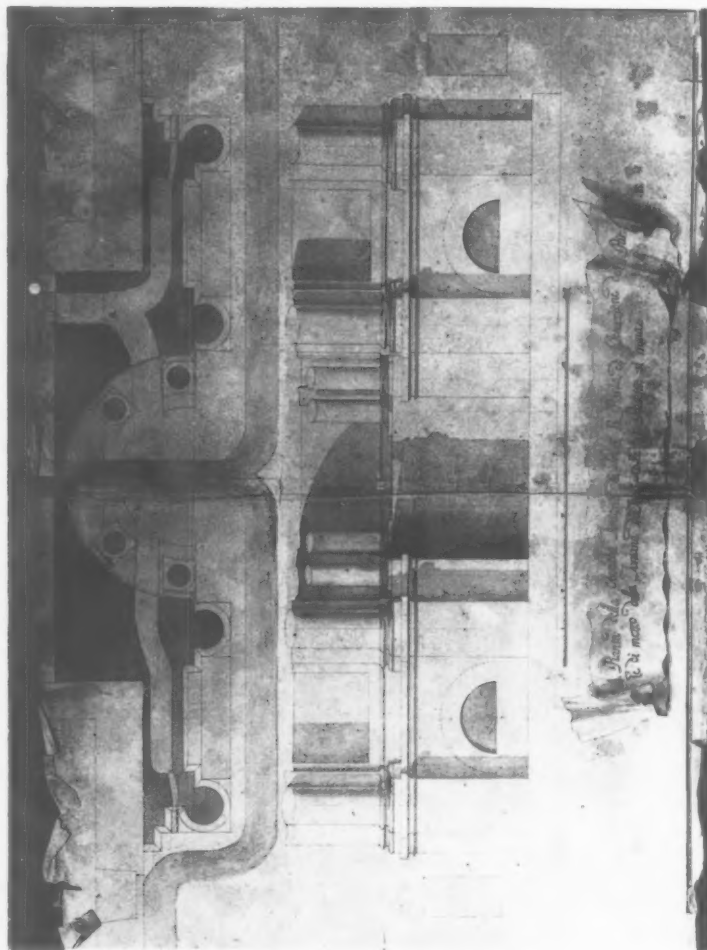
23. Drawing here attributed to Salvi. Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums



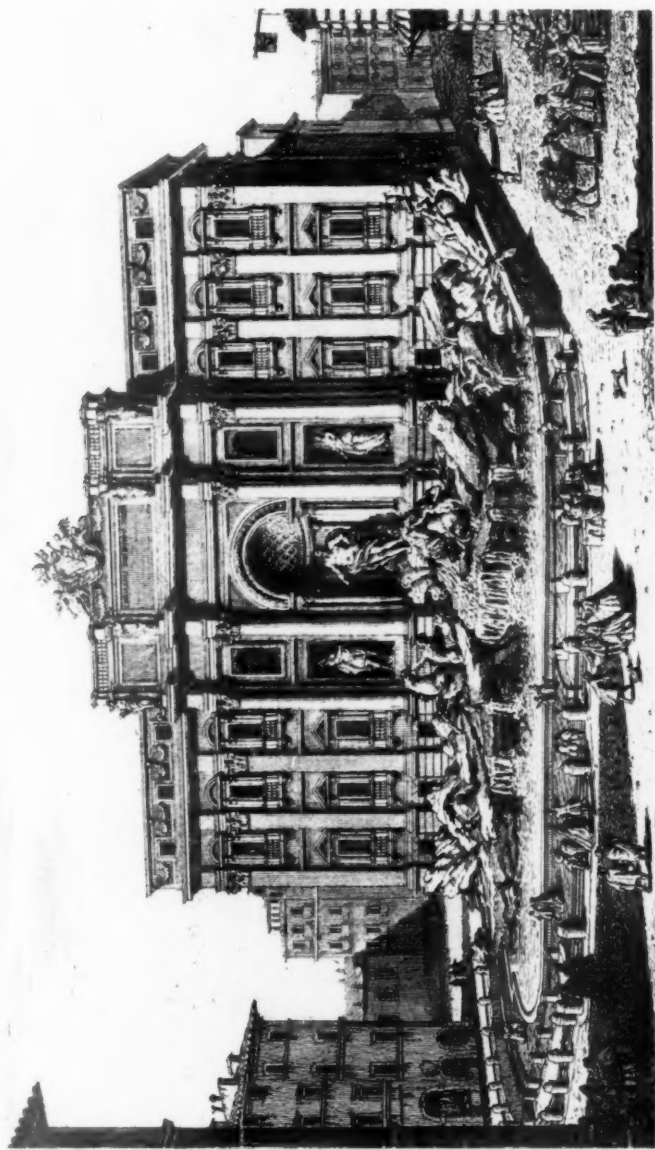
24. Engraving. Project for a fireworks
monument by Salvi
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense



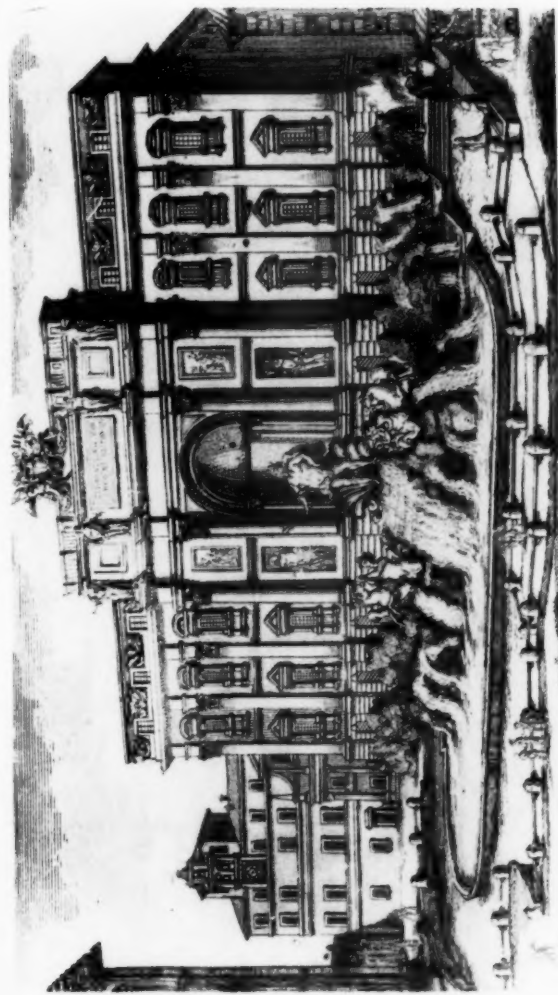
26. Drawing here attributed to Maini
Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums



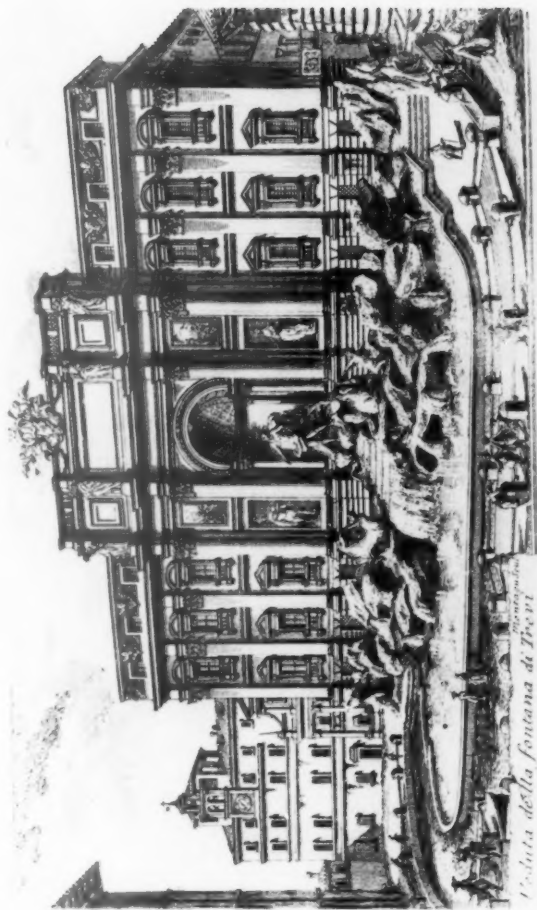
25. Plan and elevation here attributed to Salvi, showing alterations to
water distribution system. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale



27. Engraving by Specchi, 1739. The Fountain of Trevi



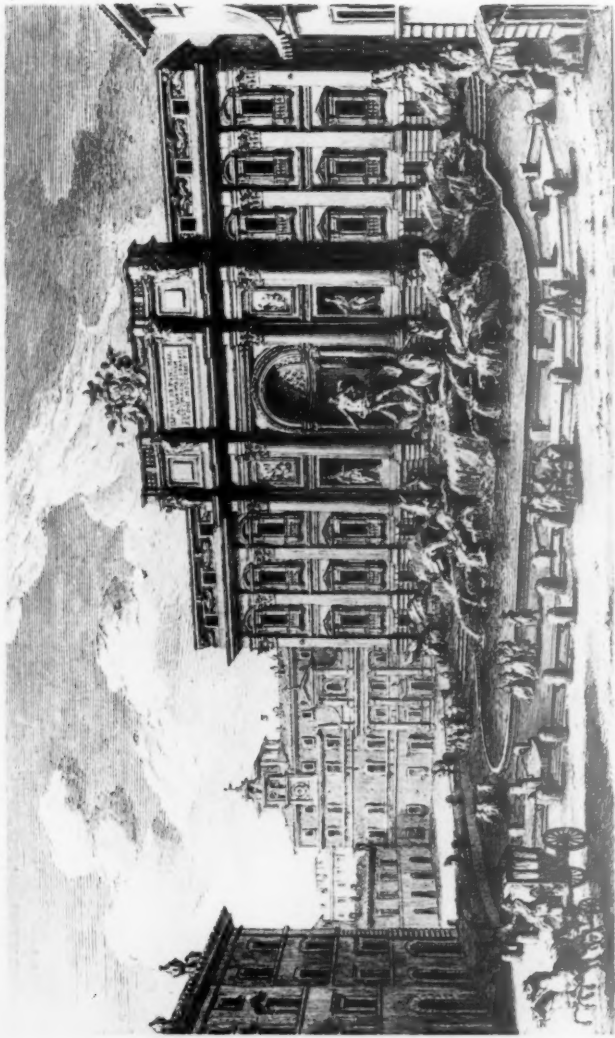
29. Engraving by Cassini, soon after 1732. The Fountain of Trevi



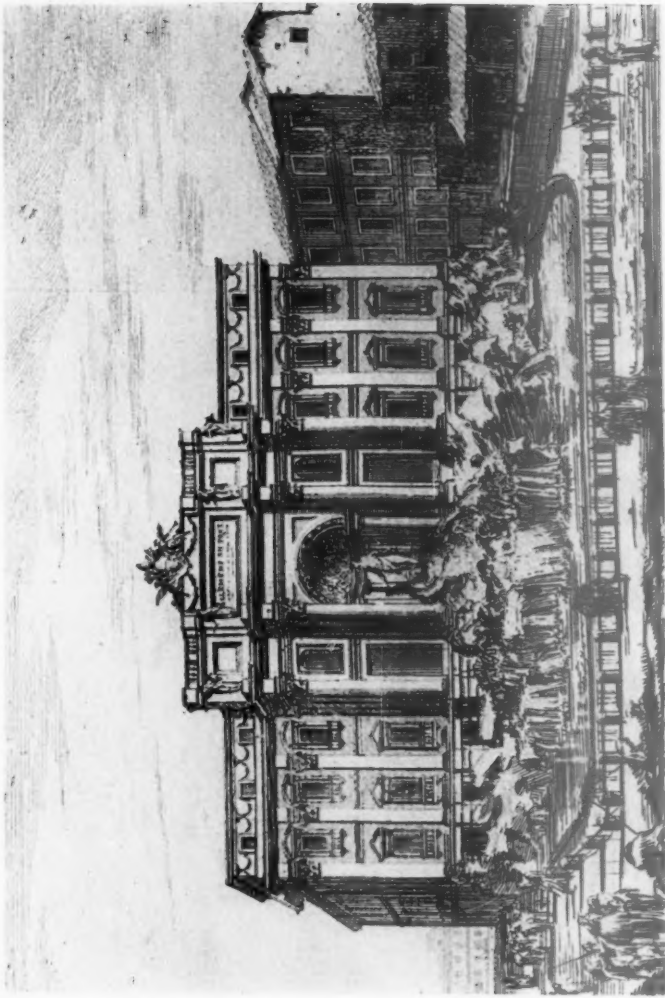
28. Engraving by Montagu, ca. 1734. The Fountain of Trevi



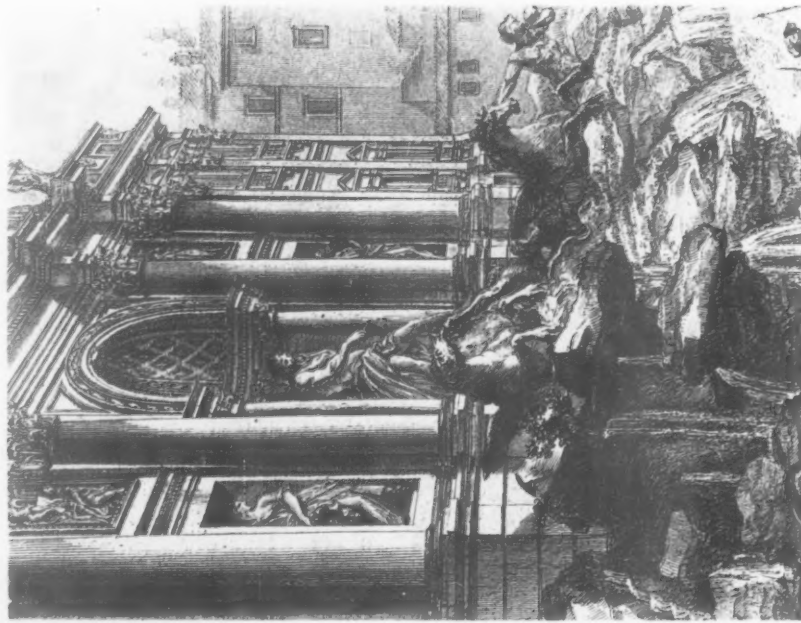
30. Engraving by Barbault, ca. 1735. The Fountain of Trevi



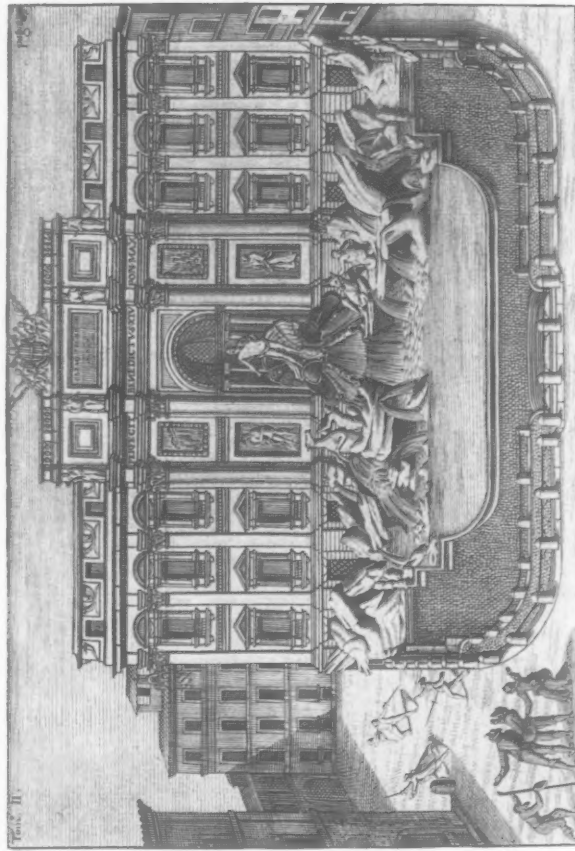
31. Engraving by Vasi, 1756. The Fountain of Trevi



32. Engraving by Piranesi, 1741. The Fountain of Trevi



33. Engraving by Piranesi. The Fountain of Trevi (detail)



34. Anonymous engraving, 1745. The Fountain of Trevi



35. Drawing here attributed to Maini
Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseums

and the main water outlet was like a giant eye, from which the water would flow in foaming cascades to the series of basins below.⁹¹ Although the basis of the design certainly was a series of shells with corrugated edges, the final result is an abstract series of shapes, which act as a catalytic agent in blending the realism and swirling drapery of the figures with the rigid geometry of the architecture and the moving patterns of the cascading water. The seemingly fortuitous arrangement of the *grottesco* rocks spreading out to the basin below, over which the water falls in carefully planned rivulets, serves the same purpose, and while symbolizing the restless nature of the sea acts as a sculpted frame to harmonize and reconcile the divergent elements of the composition.

This was the last of the major elements to be finished and at this stage the only parts of the composition left unfinished were the reliefs and figures on either side of the central niche. The procedure adopted to find satisfactory designs to fill these spaces was the same as that previously used for the papal arms and allegorical figures over the architrave, and probably was a standard procedure in Baroque art. The "idea" sketched by Salvi, and probably first tried out in miniature on the scale model, was given to the same figure-painter, Antonio Bichierari, who had prepared the designs for the upper figures. Bichierari then painted on canvas representations of the intended figures in full-scale monochrome light and shade. The canvases were then fastened in place on the monument with pegs so that their effect could be judged. The figures originally intended for the niches were of Marcus Agrippa (left) and the Virgin Trivia (right) and temporary stucco models of these figures were placed in position at a later date, between 1745 and 1750.⁹²

The fountain at this time apparently was considered at least usable, and the water, which had first been allowed to flow through the planned outlets in August 1743⁹³ and fill the marble basin below,⁹⁴ was turned on permanently.

In spite of the obvious discrepancy between the statement and the fact, the Pope in July 1744 ordered the inscription "Perfecit Benedictus XIV" to be inscribed on the architrave.⁹⁵ Later the coat of arms of Mons. Caracciolo de' Principi di Santobono was carved into the rock base (right) and in October the inscription "Joanne Constantio Caracciolo aquarum praeside" was added. A second inscription was added later in 1744.

A print (Fig. 34) by an unknown engraver in the guidebook of 1745,⁹⁶ shows the inscription to Benedict XIV in place.

The fountain, however, although it was in operation, was not considered complete, and there was no record of a formal opening. Evidently even the design was not considered final, since during the next year there was a record of 110 scudi being paid to Maini for new models of "ideas" for figures for the fountain.⁹⁷ Since the Oceanus group had been approved in every detail, the entry must refer to revised versions of the lateral figures. It is probable that the "ideas" were small-scale models for the statues of Fertility and Health which Maini is known to have prepared.⁹⁸

Between 1747, when the last payment was made to Salvi, and 1758, when Benedict XIV died, there are no further records of work on the Fontana di Trevi. The guidebooks describe the fountain in detail and mention that the central group and lateral figures (of Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia) were in stucco, and would later be copied in marble.⁹⁹

Salvi died in 1751 and Maini in 1752, and this brings to an end the second phase of the building

91. There are three other entries which relate to the fountain during this period: (1) In 1741, 60 scudi were paid in rent for space to keep the models. (2) In June and July of 1741, 300 scudi were paid directly to Maini, presumably for finishing the stucco full-scale models of the central group. (3) In December 1742 a carpenter was paid for having built a wooden screen around the work area of the fountain. Valesio, *op.cit.*

92. Card. Baronio et al., *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1745, p. 50.

93. F. Noak, *Deutsches Leben in Rom, 1700-1900*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1907, p. 57.

94. Completed in June 1742. Cracas, *Diario ordinario*, Rome, entry for June 16, 1742.

95. Cracas, *op.cit.*, July 4, 1744.

96. Card. Baronio, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

97. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

98. Card. Baronio, *op.cit.*, p. 253.

99. *ibid.*

program. The direction of the work passed to Giuseppe Pannini, architect, and Filippo Valle, the Florentine sculptor, and the only further reference to the unfinished work of his predecessor Maini was an entry of 1753 in the Diary of Valesio which recorded a claim for the payment of 1,100 scudi to the "Tribunal of Waters" by the widow of Maini for "a marble statue for the Fountain of Trevi which her husband had begun but not finished."¹⁰⁰ This in all probability referred to the figure of Oceanus, for which the marble had been purchased in 1739. Unfortunately there is no record of the stage which this work had reached when Maini died.¹⁰¹

VI

From 1753 to 1759, when new contracts were awarded by Clement XIII (1758-1769), it is difficult to follow the course of the building program, since the changes made were minor, and the diarists did not consider them worthy of comment. It seems that during this period permission was granted to change the lateral figures, representing Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia, to allegorical figures symbolizing Health and Fertility.¹⁰²

These lateral figures present a problem. The original project of Salvi included figures of Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia as essential parts of the iconographical scheme.¹⁰³ It is also known that Maini made models for the present symbolic figures.¹⁰⁴ The niches were vacant until 1744,¹⁰⁵ when paintings of Agrippa and Trivia were hung on the façade.¹⁰⁶ In 1745 the niches were again vacant.¹⁰⁷ In 1750 it is known that stucco figures of Agrippa and Trivia were in place.¹⁰⁸

The probable explanation of this confusion is that there were two alternate sets of figures, one or both modeled by Maini, and that each was tried in place on the mock-up or with full-scale models on the actual façade. Possibly the historical figures were preferred by Salvi, since they were important features of his original design, and it was decided to change them only after his death in 1751.

Fortunately, although it is difficult to reconcile all the details which it shows with the documentary evidence, there is one dated print by Piranesi that gives us an apparently accurate picture of the fountain during this period.¹⁰⁹ The engraving is dated 1751 and exists in four states.¹¹⁰ The first shows the figures of Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia with a version of the statue of Oceanus which does not resemble closely any of the known variations of this figure. The second (Fig. 33) and succeeding states show the fountain more or less as it exists today with the figures of Health and Fertility. There are minor discrepancies particularly in the positions of the horses, and in all states, inscriptions (which would be difficult to show at this angle) have been omitted. Also, and this is the significant point, the semicircular basin with its smooth edge, which is known to have been added by Panini in 1762, as we shall see below, is not shown. Therefore all states would seem to date before 1762.¹¹¹ As we have pointed out before, the evidence regarding the date when the figures of Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia were changed is so conflicting that no positive conclusions can be drawn from either their presence or absence. The importance of this print lies in the fact that the second, third and fourth states all show the central figure of Oceanus exactly as it appears today, and therefore it seems that Bracci did not alter this figure to any

100. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

101. A further entry mentioned that Benedict XIV had waived the claim following a petition by the widow, who stated that all that remained to her was an illustrious name, four daughters, and a minor son.

102. Domarus, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

103. For iconography see Section VII below.

104. Giuseppe Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma*, Rome, 1777, p. 179.

105. Panvinio, *Roma moderna distinta per rioni*, Rome,

1741, p. 198.

106. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

107. Card. Baronio, *op.cit.*, p. 253.

108. Card. Baronio, *op.cit.*, ed. of 1750.

109. The *Vedute romane* of Piranesi began to appear in 1741 and were continued almost without interruption until 1760; see H. Focillon, *Giovan Battista Piranesi, 1720-1778*, Paris, 1918, p. 19.

110. Arthur Hind, *Giovan Battista Piranesi*, London, 1922, p. 43.

111. See below, p. 167.

appreciable degree when he finished the work of Maini in 1758-1762. If a date after 1762 were to be accepted, then the failure of Piranesi to alter the very obvious detail of the central cascade would have to be explained.¹¹²

The final stage in the construction of the fountain began in 1758 when Clement XIII, fired with the same ambitions as his three predecessors, immediately after his election decided to finish the monument. Accordingly contracts were given to Andrea Bergondi, a Roman sculptor, to copy in marble the stucco relief plaque which represented Agrippa inspecting plans for the aqueduct (left). A similar contract was given to Giovan Battista Grossi, also a Roman, to copy the corresponding plaque on the right, representing the Virgin Trivia showing the soldiers of Agrippa the source of the Acqua Vergine. At the same time Filippo Valle, the Florentine who had been appointed sculptor for the monument in 1753, after the death of Maini, was commissioned to copy the figures of Health and Fertility for the lateral niches. The contract for the Oceanus group was given to the Roman Pietro Bracci, who had been one of the original contestants in 1732, and who in the meantime had become the outstanding sculptor of Rome.

The diary of Bracci¹¹³ records the progress of his work. On April 1, 1759, models in clay, four palmi high (ca. 2 feet, 10 inches) were begun copying the five figures of Maini, the sculptor working inside a wooden enclosure built for this purpose around the fountain. By the end of May these models were finished and were cast (in an unspecified material).

Work on the full-scale marble figures began on August 1, 1759, and eleven months later the colossal figure of Oceanus was ready to be moved into position on the fountain. In May of 1762 the four other figures of the marine horses with their Tritons were completed and in position. Thus, the diary records with a note of pride, all the work for the Fountain of Trevi was completed in three years and one month (April 1759 to May 1762).

Bracci in his diary claims that he altered the figures of Maini "as he pleased" while making the models¹¹⁴ and, since this change is the most controversial problem associated with the Fountain of Trevi, the other documentary evidence should be considered before this claim can be allowed.

The archives mention only one change in the design during this period of transformation from stucco to marble. Evidently the three basins below the Oceanus figure were damaged during the process of placing the marble figures in position, and the architect Panini decided to repair the damage by building a series of smooth marble lips along the outer rims of these basins. These repairs can be clearly seen along the edges of the lower basin. The water, instead of cascading over the edges in irregular falls, was made to descend in even, semicircular sheets, "thus destroying the work of the designer [Salvi] who had placed there rough rocks of travertine, more in keeping with the character of the lower part of the fountain."¹¹⁵ This note is important because it helps to identify graphic representations of the fountain and also because it indicates that if any significant changes had been made in the central group, the fact would have been noted by the same commentators. Furthermore, there is no record of any changes having been made on the travertine base, and some alterations would have been necessary if the figures of Bracci had differed in any important respect from those of Maini. There is also no record of new marble having been quarried for the work of Bracci. From this one must conclude that he was obliged to use the stone

112. A second print by Piranesi is dated 1775 and is signed "Cavalier Piranesi" (he was knighted in 1765 and regularly used the title in his signature after that date) and therefore would seem to date after the final alterations to the fountain had been made in 1762. Discrepancies however are glaring: both the inscriptions of Benedict XIV and of Clement XIII are omitted, while that of Clement XII is copied exactly; the lateral figures are at least eighteen inches taller than the present versions; the figure of Health is shown with a staff (also in the 1751 print) and without the entwined serpent and

bowl; and although the central figure is accurately drawn, the cascades over the central basin are shown as an irregular fall. On the basis of this evidence the print should be dated before 1745 when the inscription to Benedict XIV was put in place; however, the date established by the signature and catalogue seems to be conclusive.

113. Gradara, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

114. "... e poi variati a piacere," Gradara, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

115. Luzi, *op.cit.*, p. 22, quotation from Monaldini.

which had been cut to Maini's specifications, and which had been left unfinished when Maini died in 1752. Any alterations therefore would have had to be made within the narrow limitations of Maini's rough-cut figures. Lastly, it is most improbable that Bracci would have been permitted to alter designs which for twenty-five years had been the subject of intensive and critical study. If this permission had been requested or granted, the fact would have been noted in the archives.

The opinion in eighteenth century Rome was clear. Almost without exception the guidebooks state that the Oceanus group had first been modeled by Maini and then carved in marble by Bracci.¹¹⁶ If changes had been made, phrases implying that the copy was not exact would have been used.

Thus the only documentary evidence that the Roman sculptor altered the figures of his predecessor is the vague phrase in the diary of Bracci, who would hardly have boasted that he had been commissioned to copy exactly the work of a rival.

On May 22, 1762, the fountain was declared finished,¹¹⁷ and the final inscription commemorating the patronage of Clement XIII was put in place. Since that date, although the aqueducts have been encased in iron and many of the houses around the square have been rebuilt,¹¹⁸ there have been no major alterations to the fountain itself.

If the chronology established by the foregoing analysis of the documentary and graphic evidence has been correct, the history of the building of the fountain may be summarized as follows:

1. 1732. The first "idea" by Salvi accepted, as shown in the print by Cassini (Fig. 29).
2. 1732-1734. Maini commissioned as sculptor of the central group.
3. 1735. Façade completed.
4. 1732-1736. The first version of the Oceanus group completed in stucco by Maini, as shown in the prints by Barbault, Montagu, and Vasi, and the drawing in the Bracci archives.
5. 1735-1736. Papal arms and inscription to Clement XII in place.
6. 1738. The first version of the Oceanus group in place. (This was destroyed following the disagreements between Salvi and Maini in 1741.)
7. 1739. Design of rock base complete, as shown by dated print published by Specchi (Fig. 27).
8. 1741-1742. The second version of the Oceanus group completed in stucco by Maini, and placed in position on the fountain.
9. 1743. Shell forms and rock base completed. Fountain in operation.
10. 1744-1745. Inscription to Benedict XIV in place.
11. 1750 (?). Stucco figures of Agrippa and the Virgin Trivia in place.
12. 1751 (?). Figures of Health and Fertility replaced the above.
13. 1759-1761. Marble copies of Maini's figures completed and in place. Lips of central basin changed.

VII

The meaning of the fountain has never been clear. Some have seen in the triumphal arch with its neo-Palladian details surrounding a figure of classical legend a harbinger of the classical revival at the end of the century and have interpreted the monument as a straightforward illustration of a theme in classical mythology.¹¹⁹ Others have preferred a romantic interpretation;

116. For a complete list of the guidebooks of this period, see Ludwig Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, Vienna and Augsburg, 1930.

117. Cracas, *op.cit.*, May 29, 1762.

118. See Gustavo Brigante Colonna, "L'Acqua Vergine e la Fontana di Trevi," *Capitolium*, IX, 1933, pp. 259-272; Domenico Maria de Meis, *Fontana di Trevi*, Rome, 1935. During the nineteenth century a second scale model was made,

complete with hydraulics, by order of Conte Zeloni in 1855 (the present whereabouts of this model is unknown); see Erasmo Pistolesi, *Modello della Fontana di Trevi, ridotto al 15mo dell'originale, attribuito a Nicola Salvi, esistente nella galleria del Conte Zeloni al Palazzo Albani in Roma*, Rome, 1855.

119. An analysis of the architecture of the façade of the Palazzo Conti lies outside the scope of this study, and we

the monument has been presented as the epitome of the *pittresco*,¹²⁰ symbolizing the triumph of "Wild Nature" over the works of man, presided over by the awe-inspiring figure of a pagan god who rides over tempestuous cascades of rock and water. Neither of these interpretations is correct, and neither takes into account the basic difficulty of explaining why the god of the ocean should be represented on a public monument in Rome at a time when the Roman state was not a naval power or had much contact with the sea in any way. Fortunately the problem is resolved for us in a detailed statement by the original designer Salvi, which is here quoted in the complete text because it is important for an understanding of the monument.¹²¹

Oceanus, whose statue will be placed on the Fountain of Trevi should certainly be considered as belonging to the same series as the other ancient deities who, under the cloak of mysterious imagery, have always symbolized useful lessons in moral philosophy or have contained hidden explanations of natural phenomena. This god, according to those authors who have had occasion to speak of him, has never been the subject of fanciful legends, but has always been referred to in terms which denote a Power as superior to other Powers, as a universal Cause is superior to particular Causes. This clearly shows us that he was thought of by ancient philosophers as one of those prime, most powerful agents among natural phenomena, and was one of the original sources of an infinite number of products which depended on him.

In more specific terms he may be described thus. Oceanus has been represented at times as a figure traversing the seas on a chariot drawn by dolphins, preceded by Tritons, and followed by a numerous train of sea Nymphs.¹²² This image signifies that the visible and immense body of ocean waters are held together and constrained in the broad bosom of the Earth, and this water when it is in its assigned place we call the Sea. This Sea is, so to speak, the perpetual source which has the power to diffuse various parts of itself, symbolized by the Tritons and the sea Nymphs, who go forth to give necessary sustenance to living matter for the productivity and conservation of new forms of life, and this we can see. But after this function has been served, these parts return in a perpetual cycle to take on new spirit and a new strength from the whole, that is to say from the sea itself.

At other times Oceanus has been called the father of all things, and was believed to be the son of the Sky and of the Earth; in this role he is not the symbol of the powerful operative forces of water gathered together in the sea so much as the actual working manifestation of these powers, which appear as moisture; in this form water permeates all material things, and winding through the veins of Earth, even into the most minute recesses, reveals itself as the everlasting source of that infinite production which we see in Nature, which water also is capable of perpetuating in its productivity by its untiring ministrations.

Thus, in whatever way we choose to visualize Oceanus, it will always be true that the image must embody an impression of power which has no limit, and is not restricted in the material world by any bounds. It is completely free and always at work in even the smallest parts of the created Universe. Here it is brought and distributes itself to make useful those parts of Earth which give nutrition and birth to new forms. At the same time it quenches the excessive heat which would destroy this life. Thus water can be called the only everlasting source of continuous being.

Oceanus, therefore, given all these attributes, must be shown on his feet riding on a majestic chariot of great sea shells. This shows the essential mobility of water, which never ceases in its operation and is incapable of ever remaining still, even for the briefest moment; thus Oceanus is different from Earth which,

shall be content to point out that it is typical of the early eighteenth century in Rome, when certain new ideas were superimposed on Berninesque traditions. The first of these was the archaizing classical tendency of the period expressed by the triumphal arch, which the center of the monument represents, and by the groups chosen for the central positions, which represent not Biblical or sacred personages as in the Felice Fountain, but a god of classical mythology, Oceanus. Closely allied to this archaizing tendency, there are the neo-Palladian elements in the façade of the palace. This trend, which had been evident in the architecture of Rome since the early part of the century, was fostered by a renewed interest in the principles of Vitruvius and by intensive study of ancient monuments, and culminated about 1780 in the dogmas of the classic revival. The façade of the Palazzo Conti in fact owes little to either the tradition of Bernini or Borromini, but represents rather a reaction against the type of mannerism based on the works of these two architects, which had

become the accepted mode for the late seventeenth century in Rome.

120. See Mariani, *op.cit.*

121. Bibl. Vat., MS 8235. This manuscript was written in 1762 by Filarete, and consists of a series of criticisms of the fountain addressed to the architect Panini, who was in charge of building at that date. The statement by Salvi was copied by Filarete *verbatim*. Unfortunately, he did not give the date when Salvi made the statement (which is here published in the complete text for the first time). It is worth noting that Salvi's statement was written in the future tense throughout. It seems unlikely that this form would have been used if the statement had been accompanied by a finished design or model, and therefore it is possible that this statement was the only proposal for the central group which Salvi presented, first to the Pope for approval, and subsequently to Maini, to be realized in sculpture.

122. See Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padua, 1630, p. 512.

if represented, should be shown as a seated figure, stationary and immobile, and should be shown thus because Earth is passive, and receives the imprints which external forces, and particularly water, form upon her.

Oceanus, moreover, should be shown as having a rugged, muscular body inclined to fat, and permeated with liquid substances. He should have a long full beard on his chin to show the damp and luxuriant nature of his being. In this way he will also show the power which he has over other bodies, for when he acts calmly he is capable of giving them what they need for their being, and is able to preserve, multiply and clothe them in new and everchanging forms. On the other hand, when he acts without a just balance with all the other forces which combine to produce living bodies, no force is more powerful than his to destroy these same bodies, and take away all the beauty and good which are their natural attributes.

To give spectators the idea of a dominion which is both completely free and absolute, such as is appropriate for an absolute Monarch of the world, his head should be crowned, and he should have as imperious an air as possible. His expression, as in the images of Jupiter, should have a certain fierce, and at the same time lordly, majesty. In his right hand he should carry a scepter, which he raises in the act of giving a command. His left hand should be placed firmly on his hip and at the same time should grasp the hem of a cloak, part of which should cover as much as decency dictates, and the rest should float over his shoulder, billowing in the wind (which is never separated or independent of water). He should accompany these gestures of command with a lively action in all the other limbs of his body, and thus he will be seen to be a sovereign of unlimited power, who has appeared before his people to make known his command.

The entourage which must accompany him should in every way accord with the nature of water, and must be in allegorical form to signify his principal attributes. In this case dolphins, which are proper when Oceanus is shown being transported over the sea (which produces such monsters), are inappropriate. Instead here there should be two Tritons and two marine horses, which should be placed in such a way that they appear immediately below Oceanus, who will seem to be emerging from the hidden veins of the Earth before the people on the Fountain of Trevi. Therefore they shall be placed on either side of the chariot, leaving Oceanus in the open and in the place of honor; this is an entirely proper relationship for servants before their master who, as soon as he shall have stopped, will wish to issue an edict from his throne, and declare a law for his subjects who watch him from below.

The marine horses should have their foreparts (which are the most noble part of the body of living creatures) similar to the horses here on land. This signifies that the proper and primary sphere of the power of Oceanus is the land where men have their being. The hind parts of these marine horses shall end in long, scaly tails like those of fishes, and this means that the power of Oceanus extends also over the vast and unfathomed leagues of the sea. These beasts shall also have wings on their backs to show that Oceanus has the power to raise himself into the air, where the waters he commands can produce the many wonderful and varied effects which we can see.

Of these two marine horses, one should be shown as being as ferocious as possible, rearing up his forepart, pawing the air with his curved legs and thrashing the rocks with his upraised tail, as though he wished to dash into a crevasse among the rocks and gallop freely away to follow his too spirited impulses. But at the same time one of the Tritons (who may be shown with his back turned to the people), having his left hand on the bridle will turn the horse's head with all his strength, and pull him in the opposite direction. He shall have his right hand raised on high to strike the beast with his conch shell, thus bridling and controlling him with all his might. This shall signify that water, when it is in stormy flood, can produce fearful effects and destruction, which would be even more dreadful if Eternal Providence did not restrain it within just limits, and an everlasting power represented by the Triton did not regulate its force.

The other horse, however, although full of lively spirit in its motions, is placid and quiet, and should be in the act of moving freely over the water, without the need of a rein, as though the beast were sufficiently well aware (by his very nature) of all his duties; thus he will show the peaceful and calm state of water, which is so delightful and useful, benefiting the whole world. The second Triton, freed of the duty of holding the rein of his horse, shall be seen as though going ahead to announce the arrival of Oceanus to his subject waters. He should carry in his right hand the conch shell raised to his mouth. Thrusting out his left hand and throwing forward his chest he should appear as though he were impelled by a strong desire to proclaim to a distant crowd, with a strident blast of his conch shell, their dutiful obeisance to Oceanus. Thus he shall be shown with cheeks puffed out and straining muscles on his chest.

All of the figures which have been described, since it is reasonable that whatever subject is represented should be in an appropriate and natural setting, shall be placed in a welter of water, which comes out in foaming cascades from around the chariot and the horses with their Tritons. This will make it appear that

wherever they go, they take with them the source itself of water. These waters shall have for a basin a crown of stones, the greater part of which will jut up with natural imitations of rocky crags, and others sloping downwards in various shapes and forms will receive and break the falls of water with their rough edges. These, with a roaring noise, will spill the water in foaming cascades into another great basin below, the smaller part of which will be carved in the form of a rough-cut cup. Thus the same art which has been manifest in the other parts of the monument will be displayed in the design of the rocks, in order to make a becoming setting for Oceanus and his waters. The effect of this will be that the people, who will not be able to see over these rocks, will imagine that Oceanus and his train are going over the water. It would be an improbability if they were to go over the bare rocks, where the horses and Tritons could not move and live, because they belong to the water as fishes do, and in the water have their natural environ. This setting is even more proper for Oceanus, who is none other than water itself.

The monument, therefore, was intended as a symbolic demonstration of certain principles in natural science and physics which had been discovered in the early eighteenth century. For the age of Enlightenment, the phenomena of weather were among the favored themes for speculation by philosophers and scientists. Torricelli, Pascal, Galileo, Boyle, and Fahrenheit had all tried to explain the mysteries of meteorology. Finally in 1723 the Paduan scientist Giovanni Poleni, in a paper presented to the Royal Society in London, demonstrated the principle of the circulation of water: water was drawn into the air from the seas, forming clouds laden with moisture; this saturated air was then sucked over the land masses, where by condensation the water fell again to earth in the form of rain and snow.¹²³

The truth of Poleni's discovery was immediately recognized and his paper was therefore the answer to problems to which a century of genius had dedicated itself. The Fountain of Trevi was in a sense a symbolic representation of his principles which Salvi, from his statement, evidently knew and combined with legends of the metamorphosis of elements, presented "under a cloak, as a useful lesson and an explanation of natural phenomena."

Salvi's statement helps to explain certain other details of the fountain which otherwise would not be obvious. The fractured pilaster on the right of the façade represents the power of water, when uncontrolled, to destroy. The ivy-covered urn on the right of the basin symbolizes, not the triumph of nature over the works of man, but the benefits of water which, when controlled and stored in reservoirs, can be made available to mankind, a function represented by the twin jets flowing into the rectangular trough below the urn.¹²⁴ The plant forms carved into the rock base represent the "new forms of life, which water can perpetuate, multiply and cause to grow."

Milizia summed up the age in which he lived thus: "This century has come to be called the age of philosophy. . . . Our conception, understanding and feeling of everything we do or say is dominated by the philosophical approach." The description of the fountain by Salvi, which states that "art should instruct as well as delight," is typical of the climate of opinion in the eighteenth century. The monument he describes belongs as decisively to the same epoch. Allegorical sets of this type were a standard form of popular art in Rome during the eighteenth century, and the Fountain of Trevi is one of the very few survivals of this class of art. Others of wood and stucco have long since crumbled or been torn down, like the stage sets they so closely resembled, and have survived only in prints and in an occasional model. Succeeding generations, therefore, have been fortunate that at least one of these scenographic displays has been preserved in travertine and marble.

123. *Encicl. italiana*, s.v. "Meteorologia."

124. This urn is the subject of a legend which has been repeated by most writers who have dealt with the history of the fountain. It appears that Salvi was irritated by the constant criticisms to which his work was subjected. His critics were in the habit of gathering at an outdoor café situated on the right side of the Piazza di Trevi, and shouting

uncomplimentary remarks at the workmen. In order to block the view of this gallery of gratuitous advisers, Salvi ordered this urn to be placed in its present position. I have been unable to find references to this story in the eighteenth century, and believe that this must date from the end of the nineteenth century; see Cállari, *op.cit.*

The procedure followed in building the fountain was evidently standard in the first half of the eighteenth century in Rome, and since this was the only monument built during this period which was documented in such detail, the history of the building is important for the study of techniques.

For the architectural details and lesser figure groups, the "idea" was first presented to the papal authorities by a director, in this case Nicola Salvi. These ideas were illustrated by rough sketches and an iconographical explanation. When these had been approved, the sketches were given to a recognized figure and stage-set painter (Antonio Bichierari), who prepared full scale cartoons in monochrome. In some cases these paintings were attached to the monument so that the effect could be studied and any changes suggested. When approved, these working drawings were given to a carpenter so that armatures could be prepared. Finally a sculptor was commissioned to make exact copies of the painted figures. Apparently no freedom of expression was allowed or expected from the sculptor, whose only function was to realize in three dimensions the finished cartoons of the painter. This procedure was probably standard for the designing of stage sets and similar scenographic exhibition pieces, and possibly was also the procedure followed for other late Baroque monuments in Rome.

In the case of the Oceanus group the status of the sculptor Maini, who was already recognized as a master in his profession, differed from that of his less famous colleagues. The idea of the director, possibly only in the form of a written statement, was presented to him, and a separate contract was awarded by the papal authorities, authorizing the sculptor to realize the "idea" as he saw fit. In this case Salvi was not the director but the colleague of Maini, and when their opinions differed, a neutral judge, a painter, was appointed to arbitrate.

Maini therefore was not regarded as a subordinate but as an artist with sovereign rights, who was personally responsible for the design of the central group. The architect for this phase of the building was in a sense inferior to the sculptor, since part of the setting for the figure was designed around the groups *in situ*, and had to be adapted to their needs.

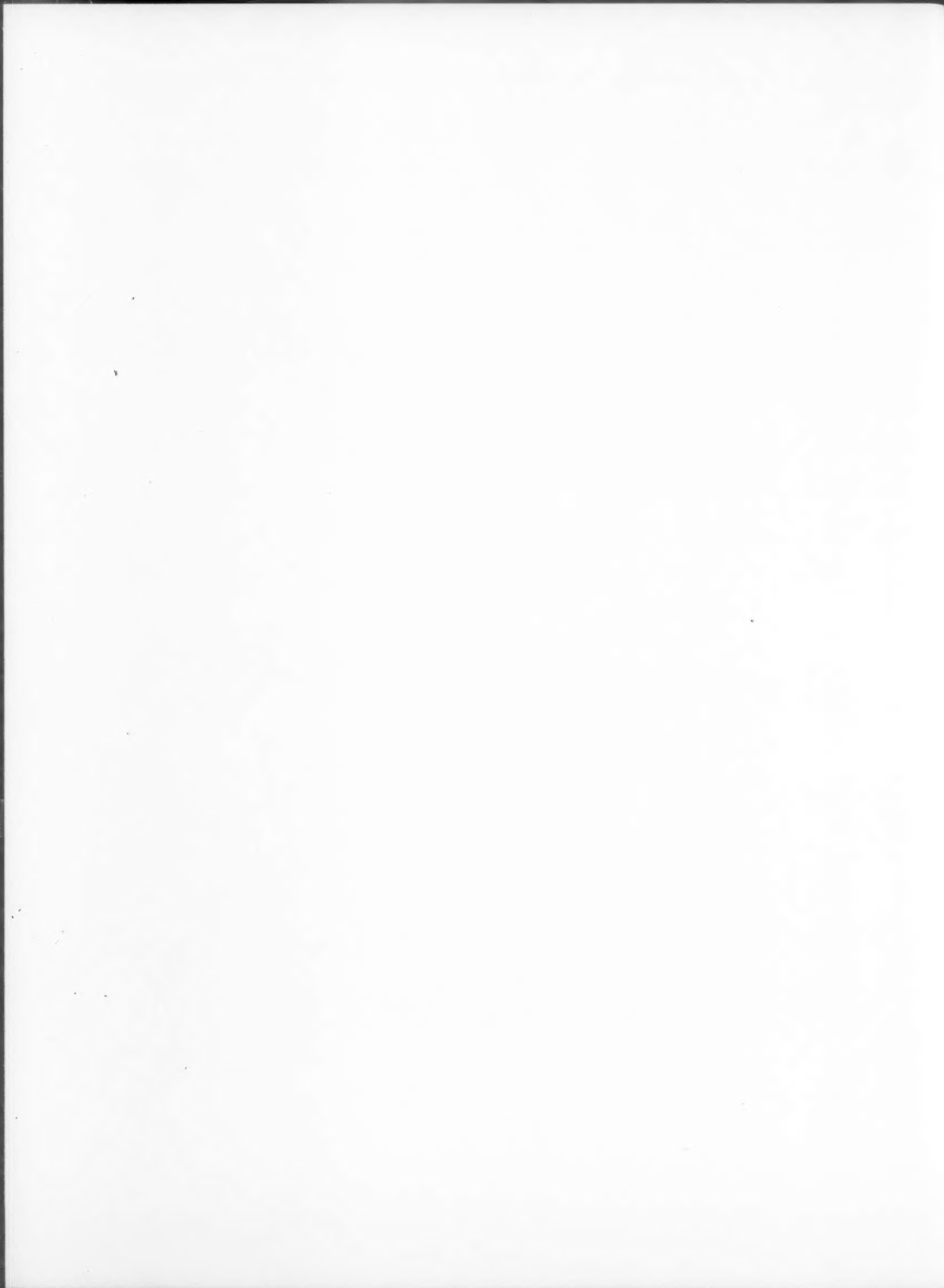
This process of building by trial and error with continual changes at all stages of construction accounts in part for the complexity of Baroque designs. If the process of designing by architects had finished at the draughting stage, most Baroque architectural concepts would never have been realized, since a two-dimensional medium is not adequate to express the intricacy of curve and countercurve, much less the asymmetrical forms of rough-cut rocks and shells. The changing effects of a moving focus could only have been foreseen accurately by an empirical process of building with full-scale mock-ups and models. For this reason it is easy to understand why architectural draughtsmen in later periods have rarely been successful in representing buildings of this period accurately by means of scale drawings.

It might also be noted that, although criticism did not cease with the opening of the fountain, the Fountain of Trevi has generally appealed to all levels of taste and education, and the process of building by continual referendum to public opinion in part explains this success. Although Salvi intended his monument as a "useful lesson," the basic purpose of this form of popular art in the eighteenth century was to please as many people as possible, and this function the Trevi monument has always fulfilled admirably.

A final word of summary is in order here regarding the two main problems associated with the building of the Fountain of Trevi. The first, long known to scholars, is the possible dependence of the present design on plans known to have been prepared by Bernini in 1638 (see p. 151). As we have shown, there is no convincing evidence that either Salvi or Maini knew or were influenced directly by any specific seventeenth century plans or prototypes. On the contrary, all the facts suggest that the design with its histrionic movement, classic allusions, and philosophical didacticism disguised in a stage setting, was an indigenous and accurate reflection of contemporary taste in eighteenth century Rome.

The second problem, raised in this article for the first time, concerns the extent and nature of the changes which were made by Bracci when he finished the work of Maini in 1762. Judging from the documentary evidence the changes were slight, and since the graphic evidence does not controvert this conclusion in any way, the former should be regarded as the more reliable source of information. A stylistic comparison between the known works of Maini and Bracci in Rome does not help to clarify this issue since the actual carving on the fountain was carried out by the latter sculptor and the details reflected his style rather than that of Maini. However, if the models for these figures were as close to the final statues as the evidence suggests, then Maini, who devoted eighteen years of his life to this work, should be considered the sculptor. In parallel cases, for example in the Cappella Corsiniana where Maini made the model for the tomb of Clement XII and a less famous contemporary, Monaldi, translated the stucco into marble and bronze (presumably also with minor changes), Maini has always been recognized as the artist. His misfortune, it seems, was that he received the commission to work on a monument which was associated with the most famous sculptors of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Inevitably, in the sifting of memories and time, the names of the famous Romans, Bernini and Bracci, tended to emerge, while that of the Lombard, Maini, was almost lost.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
WASHINGTON, D.C.



CHAUTAUQUA 1880-1900: EDUCATION IN ART HISTORY AND APPRECIATION

GEORGE EHRLICH

THOUGH sometimes disguised in the cloak of a Humanities course, some form of art history or art appreciation is well on its way to becoming a standard part of the general education, required of every degree-seeking undergraduate, in the United States. While some such program of required fine arts was apparently first envisioned by Thomas Jefferson,¹ very little was accomplished prior to 1874, the year that Charles Eliot Norton first offered at Harvard his courses in what we now designate "art history."

Early attempts in this country to give art instruction a definite place in the college curriculum seem to have been but six; and they apparently were "a subject for some slight misgivings on the part of educators and critics of the period."² By 1874, counting all forms of art instruction, including Harvard's "art history," there were perhaps eleven colleges interested in the teaching of art;³ and by 1883 art had a definite "strong foothold in our colleges."⁴

Considering this rather cautious incorporation of the study of art into the college curriculum during the nineteenth century, it is surprising that the first major program of correspondence education, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, should have made, almost from its very beginning in 1878, the study of art history and appreciation an important part of its program.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, more familiarly known as the C.L.S.C., was part of that remarkable movement called Chautauqua. The influence and significance, particularly in the nineteenth century, of Chautauqua has never been fully assessed. That it might have been, through its vigorous offspring the C.L.S.C., the source of a major influence in the creation of taste in art, is the subject of this particular study.

To a good many people "Chautauqua" conjures up a vision of a combination lyceum and vaudeville, housed in brown tents off Main Street, on circuit throughout the country during the first years of the twentieth century. This "Chautauqua," which reached perhaps 35,000,000 people in 1924,⁵ the jubilee year of the original Chautauqua, had no connection whatsoever with the parent group other than a retention of the basic format, the outdoor location, and a preempting of the name.

The first Chautauqua grew out of a desire on the part of two men, John Heyl Vincent, who later became a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Lewis Miller, to implement a program of advanced training of Sunday school teachers through a summer institute of two or more weeks' duration. At Mr. Miller's suggestion that the institute be held in the woods rather than in a city, the site then known as Fair Point on Chautauqua Lake in western New York was selected and the first session was held in August of 1874.⁶ The New York Chautauqua was soon imitated and the many summer programs which emulated the lofty ideals of the parent group must not be confused with the packaged circuit programs run for profit and accurately tagged by

1. Priscilla Hiss and Roberta Fansler, *Research in Fine Arts in the Colleges and Universities of the United States*, New York, 1934, p. 3. Part I consists of "The Beginnings of Fine Arts Instruction."

2. *ibid.*, p. 9.

3. *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

4. *ibid.*, p. 26.

5. Victoria Case and Robert Ormond Case, *We Called It Culture; The Story of Chautauqua*, New York, 1948, p. 233. This book is an exposition on circuit Chautauquas, not the C.L.S.C.

6. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Chautauqua Publications; An Historical and Bibliographical Guide*, Chautauqua, 1934, p. 4.

the government as principally entertainment.⁷ The parent Chautauqua, with which Bishop Vincent is identified, was the organization that presented a remarkably advanced form of study, including the history and appreciation of art, through the agency of its pioneer program of education by correspondence, the C.L.S.C.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, the first extension of the Chautauquan plan beyond the confines of the summer season, was founded in 1878. Basically a four years' course of directed reading, a system of correspondence was soon arranged and monthly reports were made by those engaged in study.⁸ The C.L.S.C. with its home reading course "reached into innumerable towns, especially in the Middle West, and made popular education a powerful force in American life."⁹

The C.L.S.C. was an immediate success and participants soon ranged throughout the United States; and while the program had correspondents in other lands, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was American in its orientation and directed toward specific American needs.

The enrollment figures standing alone mean little, yet the numbers in themselves are indicative of the fact that the C.L.S.C. was filling a need felt by the American public. From 1878 to 1891 "fully 180,000" enrolled;¹⁰ and by 1918 the total enrollment had risen to over 300,000 and it was "estimated that 'more than a half a million people have read the Chautauqua course' " since 1878.¹¹ While, as might be expected, only a fraction finished the four year program, enrollment entailed the purchase of a yearly average of five or six books and subscription to the *Chautauquan*, a monthly magazine that was founded as the organ of the C.L.S.C. in 1880; and it was the books and the magazine that formed the durable agency through which Chautauqua presented literature and commentary on art to dispersed thousands.

It was the avowed aim of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle to "promote habits of reading and study in nature, art, science, and in secular and sacred literature, in connection with the routine of daily life, (especially among those whose educational advantages have been limited,) so as to secure to them the college student's general outlook upon the world and life, and to develop the habit of close, connected thinking."¹² As will be noted, the project hoped to accomplish more than mere distribution of factual knowledge. There was intent to influence, and in part to influence habits of reading and study, and thinking in the matter of art. If the C.L.S.C. did in fact influence its correspondents, then it was a remarkably elaborate and early effort to affect taste on a national scale during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The subject of art was approached on several levels, and it is necessary to consider these individually before speculating upon their possible combined significance. Instructional material in the C.L.S.C. was essentially confined to selected books and the magazine, the *Chautauquan*, to be read at home or in the communal atmosphere of a "local circle." This material falls into four natural groups.

1. Required books. The C.L.S.C. used at various times books on art history or art appreciation as part of curricular reading. See appended bibliography for an annotated list.
2. Required readings in the *Chautauquan*. The readings in required books were supplemented by reading an average of four articles in each issue to complete the required study assignments. A fair number of these articles dealt in some manner with art.
3. General readings in the *Chautauquan*. Each issue contained a group of articles which ranged widely in subject matter; some of these were on art.
4. Editorials in the *Chautauquan*. For the first fifteen or so years of publication, editorial com-

7. Case, *op.cit.*, p. 223.

8. *Chautauqua Assembly Herald*, August 12, 1878, p. 4, quoted in and amplified by Bestor, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

9. Bestor, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

10. *Chautauqua Document No. 1, A brief Statement of the*

Chautauqua System of Popular Education, Buffalo, 1891, quoted in Bestor, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

11. *Handbook of Information* (1918), quoted in and cited by Bestor, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

12. *Chautauquan*, 1 (October 1880), p. 45.

mentary formed an important department in the *Chautauquan*. Not infrequently these dealt with art matters.

This then was the vehicle for possible influence. Required readings, in books and in the *Chautauquan*, form the major element, and the *Chautauquan* as a general circulation magazine, the minor.

The original reading courses were planned on the assumption that each class would begin by reading the books with which its predecessor had started. In 1880, however, a simpler plan was adopted by which all the students read the same books at the same time, and any four consecutive years of reading were accepted as a complete course. In a general way each annual group was organized around a general subject, and these subjects were repeated in a four year cycle. There were variations, of course, but a typical sequence would comprise an English, an American, a Continental European, and a Classical Year.¹³

This arrangement which tended to group the required readings in a given subject so as to form three year intervals did not affect art this way. Since the programing followed what was basically a geographical division, readings in art appeared with fair regularity. If the required books on art and the required *Chautauquan* readings are taken as a unit, one can say that the C.L.S.C. provided some form of education in art almost every year.

A typical four years' course of the C.L.S.C. was the one which the Class of 1895 pursued beginning in October of 1891. In the 1891-1892 year no reading in art was required; this was an "American year." The following year, 1892-1893, was a "Greek year," and that called for a book, *Greek Architecture and Greek Sculpture*, by Smith and Redford, and a series of readings in the *Chautauquan* (vols. xvi, xvii), which included such articles as: "The Iliad in Art," and "The Odyssey in Art," by Eugene Parsons; "Influence of Greek Architecture in the United States," by William H. Goodyear, and an article on Columbus monuments. All of these articles were illustrated.

The next year, 1893-1894, was a "Roman year," and art was once again required reading. The book, *Roman and Medieval Art*, by W. H. Goodyear, was supplemented in the *Chautauquan* by "Literature and Art in Italy," by E. Panzacchi, translated for this purpose from the Italian *Nuova antologia*, and an anonymous essay on "How to Study the Fine Arts." The last year in the sequence, 1894-1895, an "English year," made use of Mr. Goodyear's *Renaissance and Modern Art*, and required the articles: "Some Historic Landmarks of London," by John Jennings; and "The Painter's Art in England," by Horance Townsend, both illustrated.

With art following what was essentially a geographical categorization, there was a tendency to concentrate in certain periods or schools in the choice of reading materials. The strong flavoring of "Greek and Roman Studies" in the C.L.S.C. program resulted in an emphasis on the art of antiquity. This, and the rather strong religious undercurrent in the Chautauqua movement, dictated the content of the bulk of the required readings in the *Chautauquan*.

In the earlier years this required reading in the *Chautauquan* tended to be of a general historical nature, obviously filling the need for literature that was finally met by the various art histories. Once these texts were available, the articles were more frequently on individual themes and we find for example "Architecture as a Profession," by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, a required reading in the May 1887 number of the *Chautauquan*. The January 1896 number required Lorado Taft's "American Sculpture and Sculptors"; and "The Modern Tall Building," by Owen Brainard was a required article for the C.L.S.C. in the November 1897 issue.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was very deliberate in its program of study. A pamphlet circularizing the C.L.S.C. for the "American year," 1891-1892, asked, "Should you like to pursue a carefully arranged course of reading in History, Literature, Science, and Art?"¹⁴

13. *Handbook of Information* (1918), p. 46, quoted in Bestor, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

14. *The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle* (Course of Study, 1891-1892), p. 2.

Further on it cautioned that the C.L.S.C. did not claim to be a substitute for either high school or college, that it did not guarantee what was implied in "a liberal education." It did claim that the C.L.S.C. embraced the subjects taken up in an average college course, thereby giving its readers the college students' general outlook in History, Literature, Science and Art.¹⁵

The membership fee was fifty cents. In 1891 the required books and a subscription to the *Chautauquan* were obtainable for seven dollars. This was the basic cost of a year's study in the C.L.S.C.

A diploma was awarded to any member of the C.L.S.C. who had read and reported the four years' work, though each reader was urged to answer question papers called *memoranda*, and on at least one occasion to pursue the more scholarly activity of writing short essays.¹⁶

Extensive use over the years was made of lists of questions, keyed to the various reading assignments, the answers to which provided a sort of catechism. This trend in art toward an orthodoxy followed what might be labeled "the expected conservative nineteenth century view."

It must be assumed that of all Chautauqua literature the books and articles required for the certificate were those read by the largest number and in the greatest detail. It seems reasonable that the *Chautauquan* however was also read by its subscribers as a general magazine, for its makeup reflected that sort of format. It is in the general reading section that we find a heterogeneous group of articles dealing with art. No pattern is evident, though there is an orientation toward the women who made up the majority of C.L.S.C. participants. This tendency eventuates in a special section, the "Woman's Council Table."

An average of three to four art articles of a general nature appeared each year in the *Chautauquan*. In many ways they are of greater interest to this study than the more academic, required reading, in that they often deal with contemporary problems in art. More than fifty authors signed articles on art for the *Chautauquan* during the first twenty years of publication; and while many contributed but a single time, and that often a grimly dull item, several might be considered regular contributors.

During the middle years of this period, the one-time, caustic art critic of the *New York Tribune*, Clarence Cook, contributed eleven articles; most of them deal with various aspects of American art. Cook began his contributions with a series of four articles, on American art museums, which appeared in 1885. He is at his typical best in critical articles on "Monuments in America" (1886), "The Art Year" (1888), and "Some Present Aspects of Art in America" (1896).

Another active contributor was Charles Mason Fairbanks, an individual whose reputation has survived about as well as that of Nathaniel Sichel, the subject for one of his essays, "Sichel's Ideal Portraits of Classic Beauties" (March 1892). Fairbanks was a varied writer and his efforts included discussion of illustrations, New York as an art center, as well as commentary on individual artists.

On occasion the *Chautauquan* carried articles of a more academic nature in its general section. In September 1890, for example, there appeared a detailed presentation on Japanese art, and S. G. W. Benjamin contributed, "What The World Owes to the Arts of Persia," in April 1891.

Of miscellaneous interest there are: "High Buildings in England and America" (July 1894); "The Evolution of a Statue" (April 1894); "The Photographer and the Artist" (May 1893); "The Catlin Paintings" (June 1885); "The Modern Poster" (September 1899); an article on the technique of etching (June 1883); and an essay, translated from a French journal, which evaluated the iron architecture of the exposition of 1889 in Paris (October 1889).

On occasion the *Chautauquan* included a very direct attack on the decoration of the American home. It carried such articles for the general reader as Susan Hayes Ward's "The Homelike

15. *ibid.*

16. *Chautauquan*, II (October 1881), pp. 50-51.

House" (February 1885) in which she made a special case for the use in the home of a "good photograph, or wood-cut, or etching, [rather] than a poor chromo, steel engraving, or water-color; and better, a hundred fold, a good water-color than a poor oil painting."¹⁷ Six and a half years later, in the "Woman's Council Table," Hester M. Poole made the same plea in almost the same words (November 1891).

A tendency to talk to specific points on a relatively subjective basis is found in the editorials of the first years of publication. Theodore L. Flood was the editor during this period, and it is likely that he was responsible for the majority of the editorial commentary.

The editor spoke on many subjects, sometimes as an objective commentator, or as the tolerant interpreter, and on occasion as a vigorous advocate. He urged his readers that "one good work of art does more to beautify the home than a crowd of inferior productions";¹⁸ he commented on aesthetic principles as a result of Oscar Wilde's lecturing in the United States, with side thoughts on Ruskin's "The True and the Beautiful," and Lord Kames' "Elements of Criticism";¹⁹ and he managed to involve himself, by criticizing and recanting, in an attempt by Anthony Comstock to suppress the sale of photos of French paintings as "calculated to corrupt the morals of the community."²⁰

Editorial policy supported the study of art. When art was introduced in 1881, the editor observed:

A new field of study has been introduced. The American mind is rapidly becoming more and more interested in the subject of art. The best works of modern artists in Europe are being sold to American purchasers, and brought into this country. American students throng the art-schools of the continent, and bear away the laurels by their ability and enthusiasm. The man of culture sees in this growth of interest in art, a refining, elevating influence upon character. The religious teacher must not fail to utilize it as a moral and spiritual power.²¹

This approach toward art, which emphasized the refining and elevating influences and its moral and spiritual power, was in keeping with the origin of Chautauqua and the general aim of the C.L.S.C. Once the call was answered, the C.L.S.C. pursued its objective with vigorous dedication. In 1885 the editor stated: "If it is *possible* for this nation to become artistic in tastes and habits, we shall not fail. There is no branch of special education more enthusiastically advocated and patronized."²²

He continued with an exposition, not untypical of that era, which called for the need to educate designers of useful goods and expressed the hopeful assurance that: "The art-life will find ample room in our hospitable civilization, if it can acquire the courage to live its own life and escape being a parasite on the robust body of our commercial life."²³

Such then was the scope and character of the education in art attempted by the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle.

How successful was the program?

The supporters of the C.L.S.C. felt that they were filling a cultural need. An editorial in the *Chautauquan* spoke to the point.

It needs no argument . . . to show that an organization with the plans, aims and methods of the *Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle* has a mission which bears the sanction of necessity. The wide gap between the common school and the college must be filled, and only can be filled by that which brings the means of education to the home, to the youth learning his trade, to the man or woman in the midst of daily duties and employment. The demand is for that which will fill the atmosphere about life with aspiration and the spirit

17. *ibid.*, v (February 1885), p. 268.

18. *ibid.*, viii (October 1887), p. 55.

19. *ibid.*, ii (March 1882), p. 373.

20. *ibid.*, viii (March 1888), pp. 379-380. See also May

issue.

21. *ibid.*, ii (October 1881), p. 59.

22. *ibid.*, v (April 1885), p. 425.

23. *ibid.*

of inquiry. It is for that which will furnish suggestions, a plan and a guide to lead the inquiring mind. Precisely this is the C.L.S.C. Here is its mission and here its *necessity*—and the necessity likewise of all kindred similar organizations which are yet to spring up and follow in her course.²⁴

Apparently the writer of the editorial was close to the spirit of the times. In an investigation made at the instance of the Carnegie Corporation, John S. Noffsinger reported:

The Circle began in 1878 with 7,000 enrolled. It grew fast, and in the first twenty years of its existence 10,000 local groups were formed in the United States and Canada. It is significant that 25% of these were in villages of less than 500 population and 50% in communities of between 500 and 3,500 population. These were communities, it need not be said, where there were no other cultural agencies or education agencies except for the young. There were no theaters, no public libraries and no lyceums, for the local lyceum had passed and small communities could not afford to engage lecturers regularly from the lecture bureaus. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was their library, forum and lyceum.²⁵

"This permeation of American life through its small units is perhaps the most significant social fact about Chautauqua."²⁶

In an article written for the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for The Year 1894-95*, Herbert B. Adams viewed the C.L.S.C. as a successful enterprise.

The simple facts are eloquent. Since 1878, when the first class was organized, 225,000 readers have joined. Every year 10,000 or more new readers are enrolled. There are at least 1,000 local reading circles, miniature Chautauquas, where year after year, systematic courses of private and class discussion are enthusiastically maintained. . . . The wholesome, quickening influences of these little neighborhood circles of organized intelligence upon the surrounding communities are not overstated by the friends of the Chautauqua movement.²⁷

Possible influence can be measured other than by enrollments. It was claimed by the Principal of the C.L.S.C., J. C. Hurlbut, in a fourteenth anniversary address, that the C.L.S.C. circulated an average of 30,000 sets of books each year. These went to the four different C.L.S.C. classes that were in session in a given year. In the first fourteen years that would amount to about 180,000 volumes each year or a total of nearly 2,000,000 books.²⁸ This astonishing number of books was spread, somewhat unevenly it is true, in a distribution that reached every part of the United States. The *Chautauquan* followed the books. While we can gauge the availability of the literature with some certainty, their use is more a matter of speculation.

The *Chautauquan* began publishing the names of graduates (recipients of diplomas) with the first group to graduate, the Class of 1882. Each year thereafter, for eleven years, the names were listed. The figures presented have a peculiar distribution. The first four classes totaled 5,561 graduates, ranging from 1,250 to 1,600, "more than half as many graduates," as the *Chautauquan* observed, "as Yale or Harvard has had, the former in its 184 years of life, the latter in its 247 years."²⁹ The fifth class, that of 1886, jumped to a total of 4,024 graduates,³⁰ and that of 1887, to 4,444.³¹

The seventh class dropped slightly, to 3,997 individuals;³² and from that point a slow, steady decline set in. The Class of 1893 was listed with but 1,691 names,³³ and thereafter the magazine abandoned its practice of publishing the graduation list.

This drop in participation can be observed in the enrollment figures previously noted. Adams in his 1894-1895 report cited a cumulative enrollment of 225,000 readers. *The Handbook of Information* claimed only "over 300,000" by 1918. It would appear that the enthusiasm with

24. *ibid.*, III (October 1883), p. 53.

25. John S. Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas*, New York, 1926, pp. 109-110.

26. Bestor, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

27. Herbert B. Adams, "Chautauqua; A Social and Educational Study," *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894-95*, 1, Washington, 1896, p. 1001.

28. *ibid.*, p. 1008.

29. *Chautauquan*, VI (February 1886), p. 304.

30. *ibid.*, VII (March 1887).

31. *ibid.*, VIII (April 1888).

32. *ibid.*, IX (April 1889).

33. *ibid.*, XIX (May 1894).

which the C.L.S.C. was greeted in the decade of the 1880's began a slow retreat through the 1890's and, though the C.L.S.C. continued to the middle 1930's, its place as a leader in correspondence education was no longer secure by 1900.

The causes for this reversal of fortune are difficult to assess; perhaps the success of other ventures in correspondence schools bears on this problem. The International Correspondence Schools of Scranton, Pa., which had a total of 115 students in 1891, saw a growth in cumulative enrollment to 10,105 in 1895, 251,310 in 1900, and by 1905 its total had reached 853,773.³⁴

Other factors which suggest themselves as causal agencies for this decline are of a more tenuous character. Changing patterns in public education might have had its effect. Then there is the fact that the majority of C.L.S.C. students were women, raising the possibility that their needs were changing, and that the program might have failed in catering to them. The *Chautauquan*, which changed its format in 1890 and again in 1899, tended more and more to emulate general circulation magazines, and this may have contributed to the decline in some way.

Whatever the reasons, it is apparent that such influence as the program of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle might have had upon the American public, that influence was confined principally to the first twenty years of its existence, 1878-1898.

What then was the meaning of Chautauqua in the matter of art?

Chautauqua, in the program of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, had a possibility of affecting the people of the United States in two ways. There was the organized program that provided a series of correspondence courses which included the study of art history and related subjects. At the end of fifteen years 33,000 people had completed a full, four year curriculum, and untold thousands finished one year or more. It is probable that this was the only education in art experienced by these people.

Then there was the residual effect inherent in the distribution of books on art, and in a magazine which carried articles and news about the art world. These remained as references and guides in matters pertaining to art. This was probably the only art literature readily accessible in the communities of less than 3,500 population which furnished three-quarters of C.L.S.C. participants. In all likelihood there were few volumes of Ruskin or Eastlake in the homes of participants to balance the heavy emphasis Chautauqua placed on classic art. It seems not unreasonable to assume that the average reader of the *Chautauquan* and the C.L.S.C. books was an uncritical reader and given to acceptance of criteria sanctioned by publication and institutional imprint. Many of these books could well have been early acquisitions, via gifts, of small town libraries, reaching thereby a greater number of readers.

What could have competed with Chautauqua's art literature in the last two decades of the nineteenth century? In the small scattered communities of the Middle West there could have been little or no competition whatsoever. It is this probable, preferred position that magnified Chautauqua's importance as a tastemaker during the last two decades of the nineteenth century in America, and in the early years of the twentieth century.

In his book dealing with the making of taste, Russell Lynes stated that "Chautauqua was never greatly interested in the fine arts, except music."³⁵ If we were to compare the number of art books in C.L.S.C., or inches of art copy in the *Chautauquan*, or the number of lectures on art at the summer meetings, against the total in each category, this is true. But an effort need not be overwhelming in its magnitude to have a meaningful effect. Chautauqua, in the C.L.S.C., was concerned with art and taste, and this early interest was consciously deliberate on the part of the sponsors. This fact alone demands consideration of the C.L.S.C. in an investigation of the making of taste.

34. Noffsinger, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

35. Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers*, New York, 1955, p. 155.

The history of Chautauqua, in the last years of the nineteenth century, provides us with an insight into a probable source of public taste. This source would have been distinguished by its reliance upon learned criteria, belief in the inherent value in classic art, and dependence upon moral evaluations which tended to equate excellence with "beauty."

If the program sponsored by Chautauqua had been superficial or patently subjective, its possible influence could be adjudged of little importance. But Chautauqua utilized the accepted materials and some of the methods of the American university. Its respectability and its obvious dedication to a worthy cause undoubtedly contributed to Chautauqua's early appeal.

Drawing its support from a largely nonsophisticated audience, it is not surprising that Chautauqua's influence has not been adequately documented. Chautauqua must have had some influence; the exact nature and degree of this influence however has yet to be determined in individual and local cases. In any case, Chautauqua was part of the cultural environment of the late nineteenth century, and it too must be considered in attempts to understand the complex pattern of influences which entered into the formation of the public's taste.

APPENDIX

A List of Books and Pamphlets on Art Used by Chautauqua*

de Forest, Julia B. *A Brief Outline of the History of Art: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*. Chautauqua Text-Books, No. 32, 1881. Pp. 64.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1881-1882.

———. *A Short History of Art*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1881. Pp. xi + 365.

Also published by Phillips and Hunt (New York) and Walden and Stowe (Cincinnati and Chicago). Used by C.L.S.C. for 1881-1882. Contains illustrations, index, glossary, and a chronological line-chart of principal artists. Derivative from standard works on the subject such as Lübke.

Goodyear, William H. *Renaissance and Modern Art*. Meadville, Chautauqua Press, 1894.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1894-1895. A new edition (New York, Macmillan Co., 1908) contained xiv + 321 pp., illustrations, an index and a very brief glossary. There is very little material on nineteenth century architecture in the 1908 edition.

———. *Roman and Medieval Art*. Meadville, Chautauqua-Century Press, 1893. Pp. vi + 250.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1893-1894. A revised and enlarged edition (1897, 307 pages) was used by C.L.S.C. for 1897-1898. The introduction states: "A history of art is not so much a history of the arts of design as it is a history of civilization."

Griffis, William Elliot. *Belgium: The Land of Art; Its History, Legends, Industry and Modern Expansion*. Chautauqua, The Chautauqua Press, 1916. Pp. x + 322.

Used by the C.L.S.C. for 1916-1917. The original copyright is 1912. Art is treated in an incidental manner. Contains illustrations, a Belgian chronology, and an index.

Hart, Albert Bushnell, Maurice Thompson, and Charles Mason Fairbanks. *How to Study History, Literature, the Fine Arts*. Meadville, Chautauqua-Century Press, 1895. 51 pp.

Paper covers. Published for a short-lived (one year) course.

Magonigle, H. Van Buren. *The Nature, Practice and History of Art*. Chautauqua, Chautauqua Press, 1925.

The book originally published by Charles Scribner's Sons (New York, 1924) contained viii + 319 pp. Used by C.L.S.C. for 1925-1926. Written by one-time President of the Archi-

*Some of the books carry the following notation: "The required books of the C.L.S.C. are recommended by a Council of six. It must, however, be understood that recommendation

does not involve an approval by the Council, or any member of it, of every principle or doctrine contained in the book recommended."

tectural League, it is largely a text for art appreciation. Contains bibliography, index, maps, and illustrations.

Powers, H. H. *The Message of Greek Art*. Chautauqua, The Chautauqua Press, 1913. Pp. x + 340.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1913-1914. Contains illustrations, index, and an appendix of review questions. "This is not a history of Greek art." "As the title of the book implies, the subject here chiefly discussed is Greek art, but with emphasis rather upon the adjective than upon the noun."

———. *Mornings with Masters of Art*. Chautauqua, Chautauqua Press, 1912.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1912-1913. Edition published by Macmillan (New York, 1912) contained x + 461 pp. Illustrations taken from University Prints. "It is an attempt partially to interpret the development of Christian art from the time of Constantine to the death of Michelangelo." Christian art is considered to be that from the fourth century to the sixteenth which was developed primarily in the service of the Christian religion.

Rand, Edward A. *Art in Egypt*. Home College Series, No. 10. New York, Phillips and Hunt, 1883. Pp. 24.

Also published by Walden and Stowe (Cincinnati). Part of the "Chautauqua Spare-Minute Course." Paper covers. Illustrated and footnoted with references. Contains a thought-outline to help the memory and general notes which are brief excerpts from standard works. The text finishes on a Christian moral note.

———. *Art in the Far East*. Home College Series, No. 51. New York, Phillips and Hunt, 1883. Pp. 16.

Also published by Walden and Stowe (Cincinnati). Part of the "Chautauqua Spare-Minute Course." Paper covers. Illustrated and footnoted with references. Contains a thought-outline to help the memory and notes by Joseph Cook. The text finished on a Christian moral note. This and the preceding entry are the only examples of the following series which were available for examination. It is assumed that the others are similar in structure.

———. *Art in Greece, Part I*. No. 56.

———. *Art in Italy, Part I*. No. 57.

———. *Art in Germany*. No. 58.

———. *Art in France*. No. 59.

———. *Art in England*. No. 60.

———. *Art in America*. No. 61.

———. *Art in Greece, Part II*. No. 78.

———. *Art in Italy, Part II*. No. 79.

———. *Art in the Land of the Saracens*. No. 80.

———. *Art in Northern Europe, Part I*. No. 81.

———. *Art in Northern Europe, Part II*. No. 82.

———. *Art in Western Asia*. No. 83.

Smith, T. Roger, and George Redford. *Greek Architecture and Greek Sculpture*. Meadville, Chautauqua-Century Press, 1892. Pp. vi + 145.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1892-1893. Introduction by William H. Goodyear. Originally a British publication. Contains illustrations, an index, and an appendix consisting of notes.

Tarbell, F. B. *A History of Greek Art, With an Introductory Chapter on Art in Egypt and Mesopotamia*. Meadville, Chautauqua-Century Press, 1896. Pp. xiii + 295.

Used by C.L.S.C. for 1895-1896 and 1905-1906. ". . . this book has been written in the conviction that the greatest of all motives for studying art, the motive which is and ought to be strongest in most people, is the desire to become acquainted with beautiful and noble things, the things that 'soothe the cares, and lift the thoughts of man.'" Illustrated.

Van Dyke, John C. *How to Judge of a Picture* [sic]. New York, Chautauqua Press, 1889. Pp. 168.

Copyright 1889 by Hunt and Eaton (New York). Used by C.L.S.C. for 1889-1890. Subtitled, "Familiar Talks in the Gallery with Uncritical Lovers of Art." It is essentially a text

on art appreciation with a short biographical index of artists with school and speciality. Subjective and didactic.

Zug, Mrs. George Breed. *History of Painting from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century*. Pp. 15.

An outline supplied as supplementary material for C.L.S.C. Special Courses.

———. *History of Sculpture and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. Copyright 1909. Pp. 21.

An outline supplied as supplementary material for C.L.S.C. Special Courses.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY

NOTE

MODERN AND MEDIAEVAL STAINED GLASS: A MICROSCOPIC COMPARISON OF TWO FRAGMENTS

JAMES R. JOHNSON

In the inevitable comparison that is made between modern and mediaeval stained glass, a persistent question arises: is the richness of old glass a consequence of the action of weather and other accidental factors, or is it the result of a conscious effort by the mediaeval artist to reduce the transparency of his windows? One phase of this question will be considered in this note.

Two fragments of ruby glass—one modern and one mediaeval—have been examined with the aid of a high-powered microscope. Under magnification these fragments are distinguished by important structural differences that ordinarily are not apparent to the naked eye. Fortunately, through the generous cooperation of specialists in micro-photography, it has been possible to record these microscopic differences on film, and two of these photographs accompany this note.¹

Figure 1 shows the magnified edge of a modern piece of "lined" red glass, 5 mm in thickness. Most of the thickness of this piece is made up of clear, colorless glass except for a thin dark strip at the top which is a lining, or casing, of red that gives this glass its dominant color. This vitreous lining is acquired during a glass-blowing operation in which the cylinder or *manchon* of clear molten glass is dipped into a red pot metal that fuses as a thin film over its surface, becoming permanently fixed as the cylinder is cut and cooled. This procedure differs from older "flashing" methods in its application of the red coating *after* the cylinder has been blown, a contrast to traditional practice in which the component layers are gathered on the blowpipe before the cylinder is formed.²

In Figure 2, the 3 mm edge of a twelfth century Chartres fragment which I have borrowed from the Chartres atelier for this study shows a marked difference in the proportioning of the red area and the colorless (actually, green-tinted) area, for here the pigmented layer occupies approximately half the thickness of the glass. To the naked eye the pigmented layer appears to be a solid color, but under the microscope it presents an extraordinary sight, a highly complex structure composed of many thin laminations of red alter-

nating with striae of colorless glass, totaling as many as fifty-six laminae in certain sections of this fragment. It is impossible to make a precise count that would apply to the entire piece, for it will be noticed that the red striae (white lines in the photograph) often fuse with one another, sometimes blending, other times separating, and occasionally tapering off altogether. Additional obstacles to microscopic observation are presented by the chips and pits on the surface of the glass, and even by a speck of dust (the white, hook-shaped object on the left, overlapping the two areas) which settled on the piece during the photographing. Nevertheless, the magnification of this twelfth century fragment shows it to be an exceedingly complicated and irregular medium in contrast to the uniformity of the modern example, and the photograph also reveals a fluid transition between the layers of the older piece that is the result of flashing the component colors before the blowing operation is begun.

The question now arises: what technique was used to produce the microscopic laminations in the twelfth century piece? Unfortunately we do not have a definitive answer to this problem, although several theories have been advanced. The French scientist, Chesneau, has made chemical analyses of twelfth and thirteenth century stained glass samples from Châlons-sur-Marne, Amiens, and Reims, and in addition has recorded observations of selected fragments, especially the reds, under the microscope.³ M. Chesneau suggests that successive gatherings were made from alternate pots, after which the metal was spun out by centrifugal force in the manner of crown glass, a method he describes as *soufflage en plat, plateau, or en boudines*. As further evidence of crown glass technique, M. Chesneau points to the elliptical shape of the air bubbles in both the red and colorless layers of his samples. Moreover, he contends that the attenuated striae are the result of the rapid and forceful movement caused by the spinning of the blowpipe.

Miss Jane Hayward, of the Graduate School, Yale University, who is at work on the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, makes the following suggestion: Colorless and red glass were added with care to the same pot, with the red on top of the colorless. The pot was then stirred slightly so that some of the colorless was "marbled" through the red. The pipe was then dipped the

1. For these photographs I am indebted to the skill and patience of Dr. Hugh McCorkle and Dr. Edgar Bowerfind of the School of Medicine, Western Reserve University.

2. The term "flashed glass" is often used to describe many types of coated glass, but in this note it will be applied only to those examples produced by the traditional methods of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which the coating is acquired or "gathered" before the blowing, a method that produces a subtly fused and often extremely complicated glass structure that contrasts with the thin and sharply defined casing of lined glass. The latter type became popular from the fourteenth century onward, employing a variety of colors (often in combination), while earlier flashed examples from

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are found most frequently, but not exclusively, in the reds. Connick believed that this color was the first to be treated in this manner—richly saturated reds of some formulas having a tendency to appear dark or opaque—hence this "clever expedient" to preserve both the richness and brilliance of the color. (C. J. Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color*, New York, 1937, p. 256.)

3. G. Chesneau, "Contribution à l'étude chimique des vitraux du moyen-âge," *Comptes rendus*, Académie des Sciences, Paris, CLX, 1915, pp. 622-624; "Contribution à l'étude de la technique des vitraux du moyen-âge," *Bulletin Monumental*, Paris, XCII, 1933, pp. 265-295.

full depth of the pot and raised slowly. The gathering was then blown and spun by the crown method. This would explain the underlay of colorless and overlay of striated red. It would also account for the fact that the surfaces of many fragments of 12th and 13th century red glass are only partially colored, with large white areas often present.

An interesting article has appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology*, which, although not directly related to stained glass of the Middle Ages, suggests another possible method for producing multiple laminations in ruby glass. The author, Henry John Tress, reports on an experiment in which "recurrent layers were formed in ruby glasses by the folding to and fro of a falling ribbon of molten glass when poured into a mould. . . . The outside of a falling ribbon of glass undergoes chilling, evaporation, oxidation, and surface adsorption; further, the pot-metal may not be quite homogeneous. These differences render layering visible in the finished glass. The layers reveal themselves in clear glasses, particularly those containing lead oxide, by slight variations in refractive index; marked variations of opalescence and colour occur in those glasses which strike on cooling."⁴ Perhaps we could combine this procedure with the gathering method suggested by Miss Hayward to form a plausible solution. I do not think that the successive gatherings proposed by Chesneau would be very practical, for the number of layers indicated in the findings would involve too many separate operations. His theory about the crown method, however, seems to be substantiated by his observations.

Chesneau's descriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth century pieces he has examined will be of interest to us. He reports that examples of twelfth century reds from St. Remi, Reims, showed five strata of red alternating with colorless strata (again never completely colorless, but variously tinted by residue of iron oxide), with each

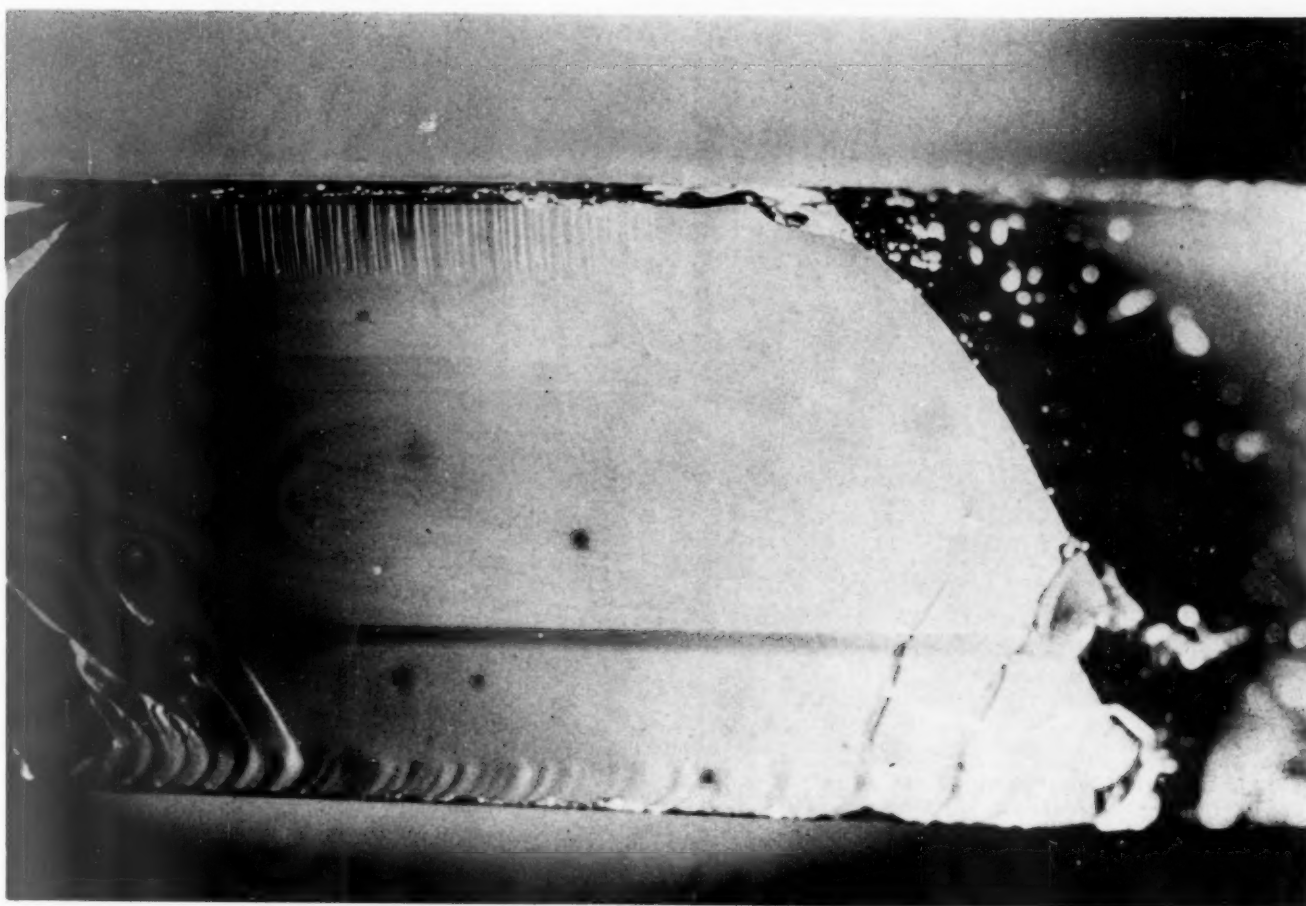
stratum homogeneous, and an example from Châlons-sur-Marne revealed three red strata within the body of the glass. Chesneau suggests that the blower could add the red in successive layers until he obtained the desired tint, which would be feasible with glass of this type. One thirteenth century piece from Amiens, however, evidently resembles our Chartres example, for Chesneau reports a 1 mm band of red that under the microscope contains twenty-seven extremely thin layers (*pellicules*) of red separated by colorless glass. Another Amiens example is composed of twelve filmy layers separated into three clusters (*faisceaux*) that are visible to the naked eye, while another has twenty microscopic layers divided in the same manner. These and other examples suggest an experimental but purposeful effort on the part of the mediaeval artist to control the color and enrich the quality of the light in his windows. Whatever his methods, he succeeded in creating a complex structure that allowed only a fraction of incident light to penetrate his medium, a medium that dispersed and refracted the rays again and again in a complicated implosion that produced the vibrancy and richness normally associated with old glass, giving it that quality of glowing from within, the *Eigenlicht* described by Wolfgang Schöne in his recent *Über das Licht in der Malerei*.

Additional enrichment and mellowing of old glass has been provided by the weather (when it has not blackened the colors altogether), for the pits and deposits scattered unevenly over the surfaces offer additional resistance to the light, halting it in some places and in other areas allowing bright gleams to shine through. These fortuitous factors, in addition to the conscious efforts described above, contribute to the vibrancy of the older medium.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

4. Henry John Tress, "Periodic Bands in Ruby Glasses," *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology*, XXXVIII, 1954, pp. 359-379. Dr. Charles D. Spencer of General Electric's Re-

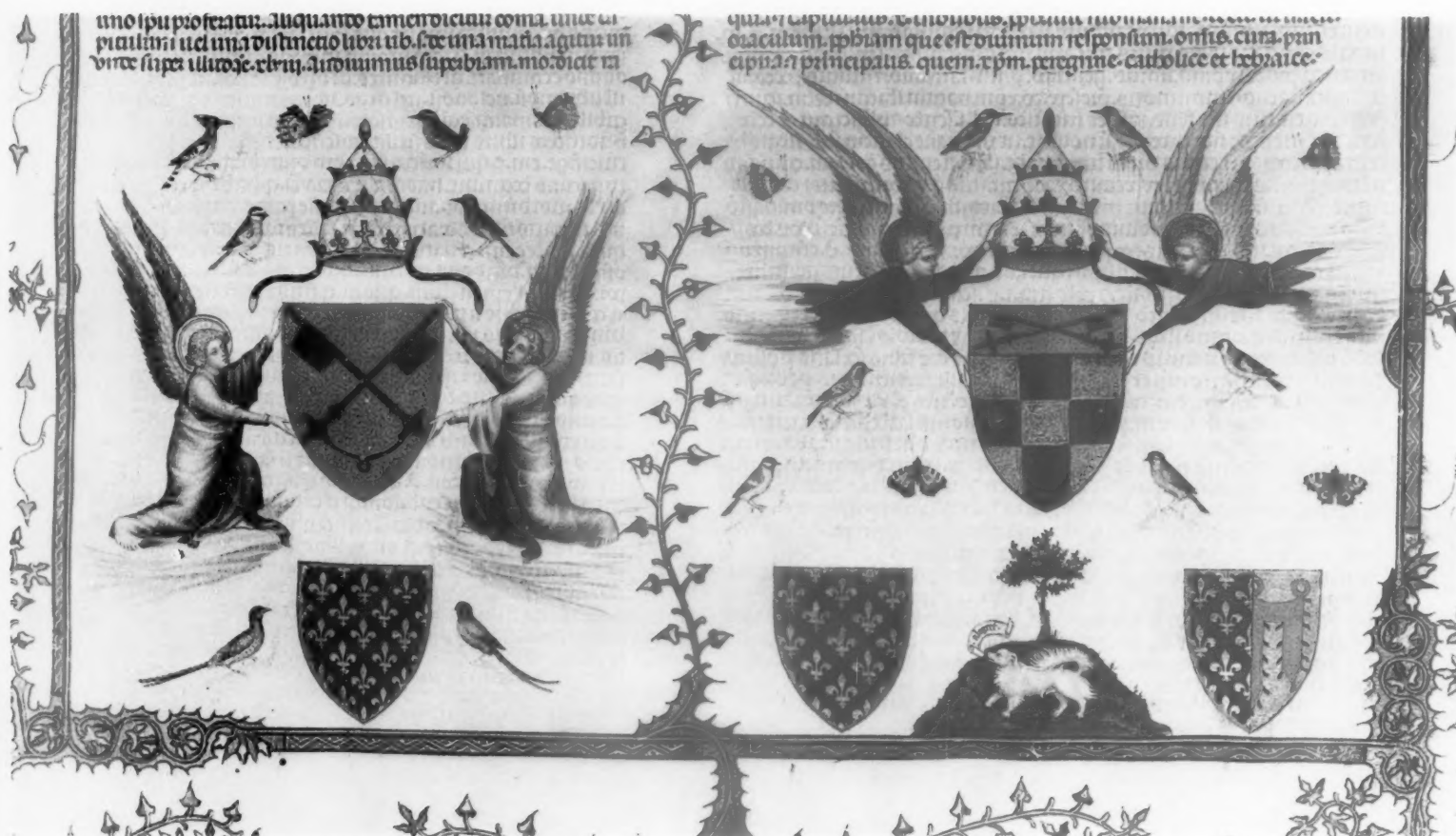
search Laboratories has kindly brought my attention to this article.



1. Microphotograph: 5 mm edge of modern "lined" red glass

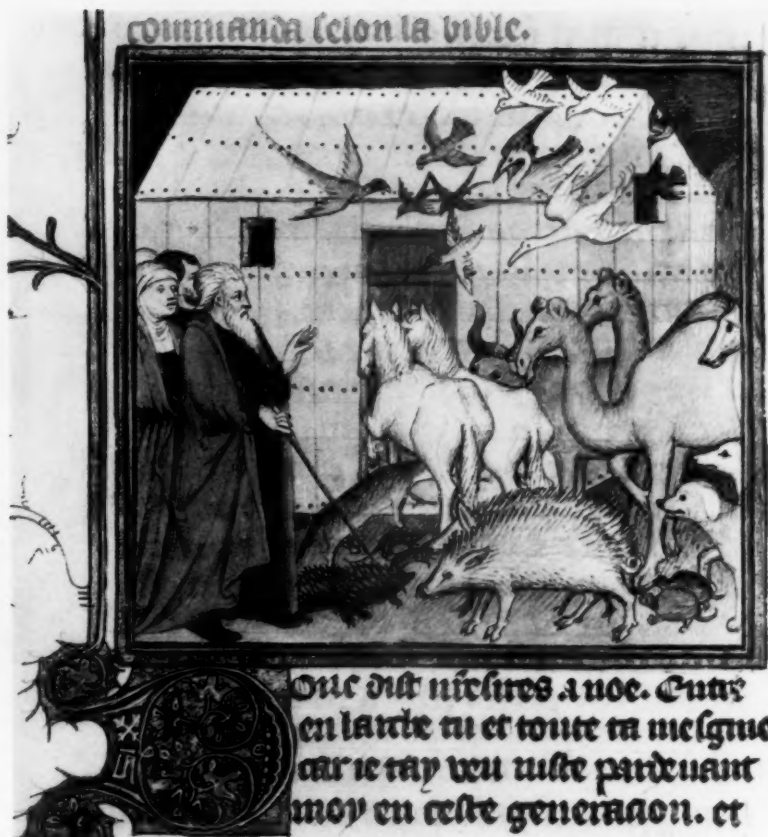


2. Microphotograph: 3 mm edge of Chartres "flushed" red glass, XII century





4. Master of Luçon, *The Struggle of Poverty and Fortune*
Geneva, Bibl. Univ., Ms fr. 190, fol. 83



5. Master of Christine de Pisan, *Noah, the animals, and the Ark*
Bibl. Nat. fr. 9, fol. 15



6. Master of the Brussels Initials, *The Virgin, Joseph, and Christ*, Brit. Mus., Add. 29433, fol. 168



8. Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, *The Baptist*
Walters 219, fol. 249v

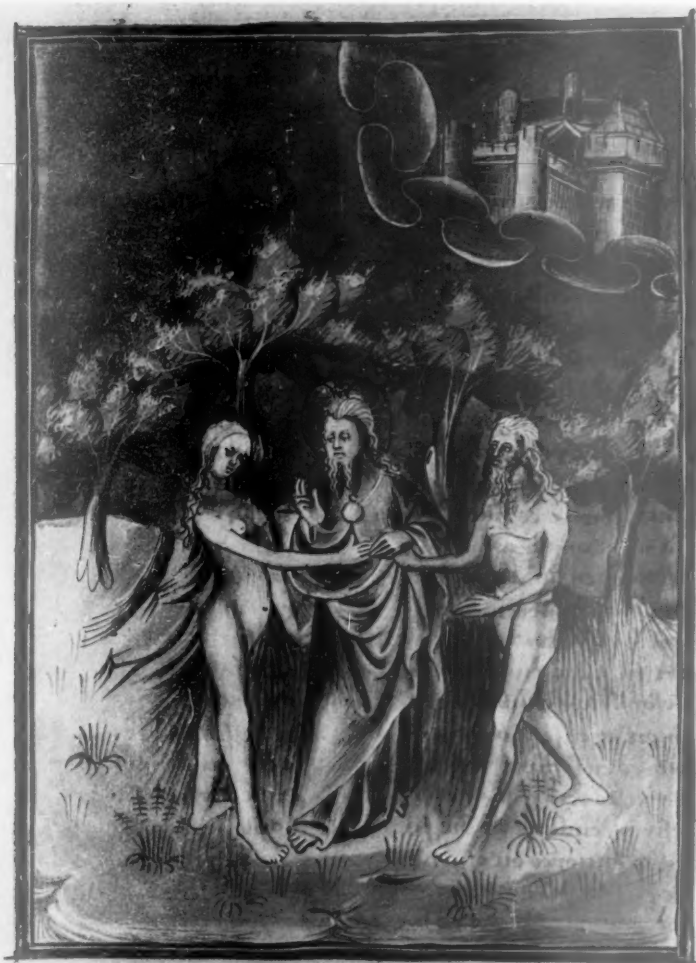
7. Egerton Master, *Deposition*, Hours of Charles le Noble, Private Collection



9. Master of Walters 219, *Marriage of the Virgin*
Walters 219, fol. 18v



10. Atelier of the Limburgs, *St. Christopher*, Washington, National Gallery,
Rosenwald Collection



11. Master of the Berry Apocalypse, *God, Adam, and Eve*
Morgan 133, fol. 81v



12. Atelier of the Master of the Berry Apocalypse
Worship of Idols and of Christ
Bibl. Nat. fr. 25, fol. 196

EXHIBITION REVIEW

THE EXHIBITION OF FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE XIII-XVI CENTURIES AT THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

MILLARD MEISS

Only a little more than a year after the memorable exhibition of early mediaeval French illumination, Jean Porcher, indefatigable keeper of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, has put together a second. A little larger even than the first, the current show presents three hundred and sixty manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, as well as a few from the early sixteenth—the first great exhibition of its kind ever to be held, and one not likely to be equaled for a long time. Indeed, such a splendid display of the major accomplishments of French illumination during this period could only be arranged in Paris, with the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the Arsenal and the Mazarine and the Ste. Geneviève (and the Musée Jacquemart-André!) joined to those of the Nationale. Most of the great manuscripts of this time were painted for members of the royal family, and they became part of the royal collection now in the Nationale, or, as gifts from private collectors, they entered one of the smaller libraries in Paris. Thus this exhibition differs from its immediate predecessor, to which the provincial libraries, heirs of the local monasteries and churches, made an essential contribution. To be sure, this exhibition too is enriched by loans from libraries throughout France. To the writer the varied group of manuscripts from Cambrai seemed especially interesting. But the outstanding manuscripts, with few exceptions, are preserved in Paris, so that for students there are no major surprises, though surely many minor ones. And the opportunities for juxtaposition and confrontation are precious. Interest in the exhibition is such that, though it opened in December and was due to close in June, the closing date has just at the time of writing (late April) been postponed until October.¹

Practical considerations of various kinds limited the exhibition to manuscripts preserved in France. Exceptions were made only for the Brussels Hours, for the Book of Hours in the style of one of the Limburg brothers belonging to Count Anton Seilern of London, for Fouquet's Boccaccio, lent by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and for one folio from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier, lent by Georges Wildenstein of New York. Two capital manuscripts, the Psalter of Queen Ingeburge and the Très Riches Heures of Jean de Berry,

absent from Paris because of unalterable institutional restrictions, are displayed nearby in Chantilly as part of an exhibition of some sixty odd manuscripts that, though including all periods and schools, forms a sort of sequel to the exhibition in Paris.² On the other hand, M. Porcher excluded from the exhibition in Paris—as beyond its scope—the Anglo-Norman apocalypses and related works. Though the exhibition's audience must accept practical restrictions, it cannot help regretting the absence of a few important manuscripts preserved outside of France. Students will think immediately of Eric Millar's *Somme le Roi* or the Bible of Charles V in The Hague, perhaps the Breviary of Jean sans Peur in the British Museum or the Apocalypse of Jean de Berry in the Morgan Library, and certainly of the Heures de Pucelle and the Belles Heures of Jean de Berry in The Cloisters in New York. Despite these undeniable voids, however, the exhibition on the whole seems remarkably complete, and one is struck by the extraordinary concentration in Parisian libraries of the best that these three centuries produced.

To the manuscripts M. Porcher has added a small number of sculptures, several copies of frescoes, and more important, a few paintings on panel (or on silk).³ The close connection of the latter with contemporary illumination makes their presence especially welcome. Indeed several painters—the Master of the Parement de Narbonne, the Bedford Master, the Rohan Master, and Jean Fouquet—produced both illuminations and works of larger scale. Curiously lacking in this section of the exhibition, however, is an example of that style of panel painting, represented in the Louvre by the small *Lamentation* or the *Entombment*, that contributed so much to the formation of the art of the Limburgs. On the other hand the diptych of the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Crucifixion*, brought all the way from the Bargello in Florence, strikes an alien note. No better demonstration could be offered that, as Panofsky has recently observed, it is not French.⁴

Apart from such minor and occasional inadequacies, inevitable in an exhibition involving over four hundred items, the paintings have been selected with the excellent taste and wide knowledge that we have learned to expect of M. Porcher. His concern with the exhibition, moreover, has not ended with the selection and the very skillful installation of the objects. For one thing he is dealing with the chief inherent difficulty of a manuscript exhibition—the difficulty of showing more than a single folio in each codex at one time—by systematically

1. Because so many of the manuscripts discussed in this paper are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, they will be designated simply by citation of their *fonds* (Fr. or Lat.) and their number. The formula "no. oo" refers to the number of the manuscript in the exhibition.

2. A hand-list of the exhibition (which extends from March through November) has been published: *Les plus beaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé*.

In addition to many interesting French manuscripts, this

exhibition includes an Inferno of Dante (MS 1424) that, directly inspired by Francesco Traini, is the masterpiece of Pisan Trecento illumination (see the writer's reference to this manuscript, which I shall shortly discuss more fully, in *Revue des Arts*).

3. A summary handlist of these works accompanies, as a supplement, the catalogue of the exhibition.

4. *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 82.

opening a new folio in nearly all three hundred and sixty manuscripts every two weeks, a time-consuming procedure that only similarly devoted keepers can be expected to emulate. Most important of all, he has provided this exhibition, as its predecessor, with a serious, scholarly catalogue.⁵

M. Porcher has grouped the manuscripts in six large categories—"Les Débuts" (mostly thirteenth century), "Le XIV^e Siècle des Valois," "L'Enluminure sous Charles VI," "L'Enluminure sous Charles VII et Louis XI" (chiefly Fouquet, René d'Anjou and the painters around him, and the Maître de Jouvenel des Oursins), "XV^e Siècle: Ateliers Divers," and "Les Derniers Enlumineurs," especially Jean Colombe, Jean Bourdichon, and one superb miniature by the Maître de Moulins, the most beautiful painting by this master that I know. For each of these sections M. Porcher has written a valuable introduction, summarizing succinctly the present state of our knowledge, pointing to the major problems, and exhibiting, as in the entries for single manuscripts, an admirable critical rigor. At the end he has appended a comprehensive bibliography—in which is conspicuously lacking, certainly by accident, the name of Hulin de Loo.

M. Porcher is not however simply an excellent reporter and compiler; he is an active critic and scholar, particularly concerned with problems of fifteenth century illumination, to which he has made important contributions. The catalogue is full of fresh observations. In it (and in the exhibition itself) M. Porcher has continued his work on the Maître de Jouvenel des Oursins (see nos. 274-290) and on the Rohan Master, attributing nos. 225-228 to an early activity of the atelier. Nothing manifests more vividly his rare blend of enthusiasm, personal modesty, and skepticism than the remark at the end of his preface to the catalogue: "... une exposition se révèle à l'usage et c'est après sa fermeture qu'on en devrait rédiger le catalogue."

Nor is this simply a *bon mot*. At the time this review is written M. Porcher is preparing a second, revised edition of the catalogue which will correct such rare mistakes of fact as the date of the *Lectionnaire de la Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, no. 193, and which will incorporate opinions that he has invited from visiting scholars active in the several fields of the exhibition. He envisages, furthermore, a large corpus of French illumination, described by Julien Cain in his introduction to the catalogue (p. xvi). All of these—exhibition, catalogue, and corpus—are major events in the history of the study of mediaeval and Renaissance manuscripts. They prove that M. Porcher is renewing in France, after a lapse, the memorable scholarly tradition of Leopold Delisle, Henri Martin, and Paul Durrieu—not to mention, in other countries, Georg Vitzthum and Georges Hulin de Loo.

5. *Les manuscrits à peinture en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1955, xix + 190 pp., 40 pls. + 4 in color. 650 francs.

For each entry he has listed the folios which will be exhibited, each for two weeks.

II

An unforgettable spectacle, the exhibition offers to historians a panorama of the changing modes of illumination over three fateful centuries. This evolution, various aspects of which have often been described,⁶ may now be witnessed in the Galerie Mazarine and the hall below it in the succession of the very works that wrought the major changes. The first manuscripts in the exhibition, of the beginning of the thirteenth century, are still partly Romanesque (no. 1, MS 144 at Orléans, a pontifical of Chartres, is very much so), and we therefore cannot fail to be impressed at the outset by the cost, in loss of severe grandeur, paid by the nascent Gothic style for its new life and freedom. As the century advanced, too, the script itself, primary in the Romanesque conception of the folio and presented with such a grave beauty, began to yield its priority to the proliferating illumination. For a time a beautiful balance was maintained between the two. This was accomplished by a conformity of shapes—the bars and vines that sprouted from the initials resembling the script in their spikiness and random spasmodic character—and also by a similarity of color. Red (often orange or salmon), blue, and gold—these, with black, are the hues throughout the thirteenth century of both text and painting. In the *Psalter of St. Louis* (no. 111), the first great manuscript in the exhibition, the architectural frames around the miniatures are invariably of the same colors also. Within the miniatures themselves the developing plasticity of the figures and the spaciousness of the compositions differentiate them more and more from the flat area of the script, but this dissimilarity is countered by an increasingly frequent use of a diaper pattern in the background, which thus replaced the varicolored bands, large geometric units, and burnished gold of the Romanesque period.⁷ The diaper pattern, it is true, tends to distinguish more decisively between figure and background, but its countless small sparkling units, blue, red, black, and gold, create a bond between the miniature and the similar units, letters in this case, of the text.

From the mid-thirteenth century on various means were employed to reconcile the inherent flatness and unsubstantial nature of a folio bearing script and the growing illusion of substance and space in the miniatures (and to a lesser extent in the borders). The awareness of an aesthetic conflict of this kind was most vivid and enduring in Paris, or at least in the Île-de-France. It was there that painters showed not only an enthusiasm for naturalistic scenes but also an unflagging sense of the peculiarities and special limitations of pictures in books. Thus Parisian illuminators resisted for a while the attractions of the *bas de page*, which had become firmly established in the course of the thirteenth century in England and in Picardy and the Artois (nos.

6. Most recently, and with greatest penetration, by E. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, pp. 21-89.

7. Sometimes the large Romanesque rectangles are combined with the diaper, as in no. 28, a missal of St.-Denis (Lat. 1107).

57, 68, 70, 71, 80, 85, all ca. 1280-1310). They could not fail however to succumb to it and to the idea of a more elaborate border that provided a habitat for *drôleries*, thus offering illuminators opportunities for wit and satire similar to those that sculptors had enjoyed for a long time. The *bas de page* seems to appear in Paris in the early years of the fourteenth century (see nos. 26 and 32) and then, with the *drôleries*, it was adopted by Jean Pucelle and disseminated throughout the rest of France.

During the fourteenth century the multiplication of *histoires* and the denser population of the borders gave the paintings an ever greater dominance over the text. Still, Parisian illuminators strove to maintain some kind of homogeneity and equilibrium, and it is a striking fact that around 1400, just at the very moment of one of the greatest triumphs of illusionism—the realization of atmospheric perspective—the Boucicaut Master should have felt it desirable to introduce into the shimmering skies overhanging his deep, misty landscapes a partly unnatural net of golden stars spaced, like the letters, with perfect regularity, or a great burnished sun with old-fashioned rays, all calculated to restore at least a modicum of kinship to picture and page. So compelling, however, was the delight in optical illusion that it was bound ultimately to engulf the entire folio, and if we look ahead to the end of the fifteenth century, to no. 354 for instance, we see that it is now the painting alone that determines the nature of the folio, while the text, detached from the parchment and floating in an undefined space, has become altogether secondary and fictional. In North Italian manuscripts of this period the text is sometimes written on a curling scroll that is casually tacked on to the very solid and very real architecture of the page.

III

The exhibition makes abundantly clear that of all the regions of France, at least until the appearance of Fouquet in Tours, only Picardy and the Artois created an art of illumination comparable in quality and originality to that of Paris. In some respects—the frequent preservation of the gold background, for instance, and the relative shallowness of the space—it was, often for its own good purposes, conservative. But it was more robust than the style of the great center and comparatively indifferent to ideal canons of beauty. It was given more to humor, irony, and lively narrative in general. In this it was sustained by the manuscript art of England, with which, throughout the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was closely connected. It served Paris as a constant source and stimulus. Many manuscripts apparently made in Paris show “channel” qualities—nos. 22 (pl. III), 23, and 24, of the late thirteenth century, and no. 46 (pl. VII), a wonderfully vigorous manuscript of the early fourteenth century. It is in Parisian secular manuscripts particularly, and in

manuscripts produced for the market rather than on commission for the nobility, that this kinship with the style of the Artois is most evident.

If we turn hopefully to a neighboring region of France, to Normandy, with the wonderful glass of the Cathedral and of St. Ouen in mind—the most beautiful surviving glass of the first half of the fourteenth century—we will certainly be disappointed. Among the few manuscripts attributable to Normandy (no. 103 and perhaps nos. 104 and 105), we shall find nothing either very individual or, like the glass, very Parisian.⁸ More work needs to be done on disengaging the production of this region, but the prospects of important consequences do not seem very bright. Champagne and Lorraine—Metz was much influenced by the illumination of Treves (see especially no. 101)—offer little better, and the emulation in Toulouse of Italy or rather of Italianate Avignon or Catalonia produced a curiously rigid, static, and it must be admitted, rather insignificant style (nos. 51 and 133).

Illumination in nearby Avignon during the fourteenth century is more interesting historically because of the cosmopolitan patronage of the Papal court. It is true that the production of painters apparently resident there for some time, and possibly trained there, is not very intriguing (nos. 137, 141), consisting simply of a more accomplished, but hardly more impressive, imitation of Italian and Catalan models than was achieved in Toulouse. Indeed a master from the latter center, Bernard, seems to have been active in Avignon, producing no. 133 (in 1366) and also, as M. Porcher rightly points out, the Missal no. 134. The art of this center tends to confuse liveliness with boundless profusion, and the crowded folios of the well-known Missal of Clement VII (no. 137, Lat. 848) make the none-too-sober *Grandes Heures* of Jean de Berry look like a masterpiece of control. Apart from these works of a more local character, the exhibition provides, however, more inviting evidence of manuscripts, or indeed painters, brought to Avignon from some of the larger Italian centers. The Missal no. 132 (Avignon Ms 136, painted between 1362 and 1370) is not simply “tout imprégné d'influence italienne,” as the first edition of the catalogue says, but pure Bolognese, by a master very close to Niccolò. The Missal no. 135 (Avignon Ms 138), almost certainly painted in Naples around 1360 and then brought to Avignon, as the catalogue states, is especially interesting because of its very close relationship to the famous *Bible Moralisée*, Fr. 9561, as I shall try to show shortly.⁹ Perhaps by the first of the three chief painters of the *Bible*, it adds further proof that that much-discussed work is Neapolitan.

IV

For the historian of style the problems presented by paintings in manuscripts are peculiarly intricate. The miniaturist, especially the leading miniaturist, had a

8. However, the illumination of a book of hours in the Walters Art Gallery (Ms 300) dated 1412 and made in or near Rouen, is distinctive and interesting.

9. In n. *Studies in French Illumination*. See my reference to this missal, to the *Bible Moralisée* and to Neapolitan Trecento painting in *Revue des Arts*, cited in note 2.

different relationship to his product than the panel or mural painter. A miniature is of course less independent than a painting not in a book, and generally it was not intended for contemplation as prolonged as that occasioned by a panel or fresco, even when, beginning in the late fourteenth century, it was so greatly freed from the text and the folio. The miniature furthermore did not possess a stable ground, and it was almost always much smaller. For all these reasons a miniature was usually (there are exceptions) not produced with the same deliberation as a panel or fresco, and it did not receive the same finish. Miniatures were normally made more spontaneously, more rapidly, and in greater quantity. Though the painter responsible for the manuscript might provide indications or even compositional sketches for all the miniatures, he would normally leave the execution of some of them to his associates or assistants, without attempting in one way or another to diminish the stylistic differences between them. Thus the problems presented by paintings in manuscripts are in one sense more complex just because the *possibilities* of stylistic distinction are *greater*.

Even the historian most skeptical of the results of connoisseurship must be impressed by the extent to which French illumination over three centuries was shaped by a few exceptional artists. One senses this already in the thirteenth century when considering the Ingeburg Psalter (at Chantilly) or the Psalter of St. Louis—the latter, by the way, far subtler in color and value, and hence also in shape and volume, than any reproductions hitherto would have led one to imagine. To give an account of Honoré, of Pucelle, of the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters, of the Limburgs and their successors in the following century is to give the essential story of French illumination. This M. Porcher recognizes full well, and both in the exhibition and in the catalogue these major artists emerge with all possible clarity. But there is an exception, actually a painter whose name does not appear in the roster given just above—Jean Bondol, who in my opinion dominated the entire period of Charles V. It is not simply that his one authenticated miniature, in the Bible of 1371 at The Hague, or a specimen of the Angers tapestries made on his designs, are lacking in the exhibition: they may both have been unavailable. There is no clear understanding of his art or its influence, and some manuscripts which seem to reflect his style are credited to the tradition of Pucelle.¹⁰

Much more conspicuous are the obscurities in the years from the death of Charles V in 1380 to the death of Jean de Berry in 1416, though they certainly cannot be attributed to M. Porcher himself. These first thirty-five years of the reign of Charles VI compose perhaps the richest and most splendid period of all; at

least this reviewer so concluded in the halls of the exhibition—with pleasure and surprise, for years of close concern with it had tended to dull the impression of the works themselves and overlaid them with critical riddles. Perhaps just because of the exceptional variety of major styles the identity and chronology of the chief artists in this period are more controversial than in any other. Even so crucial a work as the Brussels Hours is dated as early as about 1390 or as late as 1407-1408, which is tantamount to shifting the Brancacci Chapel back and forth between 1420 and 1440.¹¹ Amidst these uncertainties M. Porcher has moved with his usual skill and caution. Occasionally he takes a position, and it just so happens that in this difficult area my own views differ most consistently from his—and, of course, from those of many other colleagues also. My opinions will be set forth fully in a book of studies on French illumination that will, I hope, go to press soon. But since the occasion of the exhibition joins the issues more sharply, I propose to set down briefly some of these conclusions for discussion at the present time.

Parisian painting of the later sixties drew its strength chiefly from two major sources: Jean Bondol of Bruges, and the tradition of Jean Pucelle, the latter somewhat transformed, as in the Hours of Yolande de Flandre and Jeanne de Navarre, but still very much alive. Into this milieu there came another painter who, more than any of his contemporaries, was destined to affect the future course of painting: the Master of the Parement de Narbonne. Executing the Parement for Charles V towards 1375, he undertook soon after the death of the King in 1380 to work for Jean de Berry, for it was surely he, as Hulin de Loo pointed out almost half a century ago, who began the famous book of hours for this prince that has since had such an extraordinary—and melancholy—history. One folio by his hand from this volume is exhibited as no. 181 (Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, R.F. 2024). Deeply influenced by Italian art, as Bondol was not, the style of the Parement Master is curiously connected with that version of Italian forms that was promulgated along the shores of the Mediterranean from southern France to Catalonia. His work is especially close, for instance, to the missal (no. 141, Cambrai MS 150) made, as M. Porcher shows, in this region, and he is the only major artist of the later fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries who demonstrated such Mediterranean affinities. The Parement Master was very probably an illuminator only on occasion, for just one other miniature in his style is known—in the Book of Hours, Egerton 1070—and he seems to have had no close followers in the art at all. Possibly he may be identified with the Jean d'Orléans who worked first for Charles V and then for Jean de Berry.

10. No. 120 (Fr. 14939), and, apart from its Pucellesque frontispiece, no. 112 (Arsenal 5212), the well-known Bible Historiale. Late examples of the Bondol tradition are no. 142 (Fr. 20029) of 1383 and no. 145 (Fr. 9106) of 1398.

11. The late date is now again maintained by O. Pächt in an interesting article that became accessible to me only after the present paper had left my hands (*Burlington Magazine*,

xcviii, 1956, pp. 146ff.). I can only say here that Pächt's method seems to belong to a form of *Stilgeschichte* that would argue—to continue the analogy of the text above—a date of 1440 for the Brancacci Chapel because the figures in it belong to the "stage" visible in the painting of Uccello and Fra Filippo at that time.

Perhaps that passionate collector Jean de Berry, wanting something radically new in manuscript style in the early eighties, invited leading masters in the more monumental arts to undertake illumination for him. An hypothesis of this sort is supported by a known fact, for at that time the Duke asked the sculptor and architect André Beauneveu to paint a series of miniatures in a psalter (no. 180, Fr. 13091). Around that time too a third invitation of the same sort went to the master—perhaps a sculptor also—who executed the first two miniatures affixed to the Brussels Hours (no. 186). In the Psalter the remaining miniatures were executed by two professional miniaturists, perhaps the first to be given tenure by the Duke for we know later examples of their work in manuscripts made for him. One, a great artist whom we may provisionally call A, painted only the *Dixit Insipiens* and, in part, *David in the Water*, while B executed the remainder. The style of B, lively but much more conservative than that of A, was formed in the Parisian workshops influenced by Bondol and the late Pucelle tradition. It may first be discerned in a *bible historiale* perhaps made for Charles V, and in any event given by Charles VI to Jean de Berry in 1383 (no. 128, Fr. 20090). Like the Parent Master, B may, at the death of Charles V, have passed from the King's service to that of his brother, the Duke.

These two painters, A and B, joined with several other illuminators towards 1385 to produce the famous *Petites Heures* (no. 182, Lat. 18014), the most important enterprise of its time. Stylistically the *Petites Heures* is by far the most complex manuscript of this period, and I can here attempt only to identify the chief styles, leaving to my book the full description of the numerous instances of interpenetration and collaboration on a folio or even within a miniature. B, as in the Psalter, had a larger share of the illumination than A, but, as seems quite right, a less important one. Influenced or guided by A, for whose work he had in general little sympathy, he painted three miniatures in the treatise on the conduct of princes (fols. 8, 9v, and 12), and then, more independently, the calendar and a majority of the smaller miniatures from fol. 63v on (Fig. 1).¹² A, on the other hand, undertook the greater part of the most important section of a book of hours, the Hours of the Virgin. He painted part of the folio of the *Annunciation*, the *Visitation* (Fig. 2), the *Nativity*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Flight* and the *Coronation* (with an assistant), and the monumental standing *Madonna* on fol. 97v. He was also responsible for the oft-reproduced *Death of St. Louis*.¹³ His chief collaborator in this manuscript was really not B but another very impressive artist whose style is seen at its best and purest in the wonderful sequence of scenes of the Passion, and who

may therefore be designated the Master of the Passion. This remarkable painter executed, in addition to the Passion cycle, the figures of the angel and the Virgin in the *Annunciation* (fol. 22), while the architecture of the scene and all the elaborate framework around the miniature were painted by A. The Master of the Passion seems also to have provided the design for the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 140v), thereafter painted by A, and he painted the *drôleries* on some folios containing miniatures by A.¹⁴ This great master is Pucelle reincarnate. Actually formed in the Pucelle tradition, he carried into an age increasingly concerned with artistic problems—realization of volume and space, linear and aerial perspective—that master's deep concern with narrative and drama and human destiny. Among surviving manuscripts, his style is perhaps first visible in the Hours of Yolande de Flandre (Brit. Mus. Yates Thompson 27) and then in the Breviary possibly made for Charles V (no. 111, Lat. 1052), so that, like the Parent Master and Master B, he may have worked for the book-loving King before entering the service of the Duke.

These three masters, A, B, and the Passion Master—or perhaps we should say ateliers, because B seems to have had an assistant—were joined in the *Petites Heures* by two others. One, much influenced by A but still distinguishable from him, painted some of the miniatures in the Hours of the Holy Ghost and all of those in the Hours of the Trinity except fols. 186v and 191, so that we may call him the Master of the Trinity.¹⁵ With him worked a fifth painter inferior to all the rest.¹⁶

The extent of the collaboration in the *Petites Heures* is altogether exceptional in a book of hours, and it was probably the consequence of exceptional circumstances. Perhaps these were in part artistic—the developing and changing relations of artists, particularly of a very young one and an older. Possibly there were extra-artistic reasons—the illness or death of a painter (we lose sight of the Passion Master after this work). Possibly there was a change in ownership; Berry's arms, in any event, were not originally included in the miniatures and initials. Perhaps the Duke, impatient, simply ordered the manuscript completed immediately. In any event, of the five illuminators who worked on the manuscript, two continued to work for the Duke. B, always prolific, a sort of *miniature fa presto*, painted shortly before 1409 many of the miniatures in the *Grandes Heures* (no. 183, Lat. 919), and also in the *Evangelary* (no. 194, Bourges Ms 48) that the Duke gave to the Ste. Chapelle in Bourges in 1404. For Bourges he also painted a breviary, now Bourges Ms 16, and miniatures in a lectionary (no. 193, Bourges Mss 33-36). He is the author of a fascinating book of hours that I saw for the first time in the present

12. For example fols. 104 through 136, 142v through 144v, 191, 206, 278v, 282, and 286.

13. A is responsible also for fols. 40v (in part), 198v, and 211.

14. His style is apparent also, somewhat transformed by the influence of his collaborators, chiefly A, in the most complex

section of the manuscript, the Hours of the Baptist (fols. 207, 208, both in part).

15. In the Hours of the Holy Ghost: fols. 67, 70, 72, 74. Also, in the Hours of the Baptist, especially 209v and elsewhere in the manuscript: fols. 100v, 140v, 158, 163.

16. Fols. 160, 161, 186v, 199v.

exhibition (no. 184, Coll. Jean Durrieu).¹⁷ Around 1405-1410 he painted several miniatures in two other books of hours, one of the use of Rome, Brit. Mus. Add. 32454, the other of the use of Bourges, Yates Thompson 37. He is responsible also for the one miniature in a Lactantius, Brit. Mus. Harley 4947, and for a single folio, no. 73 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. In the early eighties, he illuminated in a style similar to that of the Petites Heures a book of hours (Walters 94). Our date of ca. 1383-1385 for this manuscript as well as the Petites Heures is confirmed by another manuscript containing miniatures in the same style, the text of which was written in 1382—a *Légende Dorée* in the British Museum, Royal 19 B xvii.¹⁸ Much like Jean Bondol, whose art he studied, he was interested essentially in lively calligraphy and narrative, and he was quick to adopt new and telling gestures or figure arrangements introduced by other painters. He was on the other hand relatively indifferent to qualities of space and light, and though he made some concessions to the profound innovations in these areas that he witnessed, his style changed little throughout his career.

A was a much more intellectual painter, and a more ambitious one. If B may be said to resemble Lorenzo Monaco or Giovanni dal Ponte, A was the Massaccio or Uccello of his period. Indeed as a northern student of problems of appearance and representation, he curiously anticipates these Italian masters. He was, in fact, a close student of Trecento art, and when we get a glimpse of him again, between 1389 and 1394 in a Bible in the Vatican (Vat. lat. 50-51), his style looks not only more Italianate but more controlled, more unified, in short, more mature. For despite all the difficulties—and they are considerable—I am convinced that Master A is the painter of the angels on the right half of the first folio of the second volume of the Bible (Fig. 3). This is the decisive step, for the painter of the angels is certainly the main master of the Brussels Hours.

Strangely enough, in the Vatican Bible Master A once again worked intimately with a collaborator, for the angels on the left-hand side are evidently in an altogether different style. That this might be related to the first two miniatures in the Brussels Hours seems too good to be true, and I shall have to rely on the text of my book to allay the suspicions of my colleagues.

Though little attention has been paid to them, these paintings in the Vatican Bible are very precious documents. They provide us with a work by the main master of the Brussels Hours that is firmly dated around 1390. There is no reason why the Hours themselves should have been painted very much later;

and by helping to end the uncertainty about the date of this capital work, the Vatican manuscript contributes to a more correct chronology of all of French painting from 1390 onward.

In the Brussels Hours, always cited as the culmination of Italianism in the North, our painter, whom we may now call the Master of the Brussels Hours or simply the Brussels Master, shows an awareness not only of the Sienese painters of the earlier Trecento but also of the most recent Tuscan painting, Florentine as well as Sienese. He need not always have made the acquaintance of such works at first hand, though there certainly were specimens of "modern" Tuscan and Lombard painting available for study in Paris itself. He could have considered the reflections of Maso and Orcagna in the excellent miniatures of the best illuminator of the Bible Moralisée (Fr. 9561), which if my hypothesis is correct, was painted by a Neapolitan master in Naples or in France (perhaps Angers) for Louis I of Anjou. In a more Sienese phase this same outstanding Neapolitan master seems to me to have executed, very probably for the same Duke of Anjou, the three panels from the Infancy cycle divided between the Museum in Aix-en-Provence and the Lehman Collection and now united in the exhibition in the Orangerie.¹⁹ The wide expanses and deep landscapes in these paintings might have proved very instructive to the Brussels Master.

Strangely enough, only one other painting by the Brussels Master seems to have come down to us.²⁰ It is a painting on parchment of the *Way to Calvary* in the Louvre, conveniently hanging near the Brussels Hours in the exhibition (no. x). Though bearing its usual attribution to the School of Avignon, rather than to the circle of the Brussels Master, to which Beenken and Panofsky have given it, it is certainly a late work by this master, around 1400-1405. Now for a painting on parchment it is exceptionally large, so that when I identified its painter many years ago I at first supposed that it might have been one of the missing full-page miniatures from the Grandes Heures, which were executed, according to the inventories, at least in part by Jacquemart de Hesdin. The size of the painting—too large I think even for the Grandes Heures—and the presence of two donors soon made me skeptical of this attractive hypothesis,²¹ and with mounting doubt there disappeared the one certain method of identifying the Brussels Master with an historical person—Jacquemart de Hesdin.²²

If our account of the various styles appearing in manuscripts illuminated for the Duke is correct, several masters have hitherto masqueraded as the famous Jacquemart de Hesdin, the *enlumineur* and *varlet de*

17. It contains also one of the early miniatures of the Boucicaut Master.

18. Among closely related miniatures I might cite Walters 287, fol. 70, and 103, fol. 86.

19. See the writer's paper in *Revue des Arts*, cited in note 2.

20. A miniature of the *Entry into Jerusalem* in a small book of hours of Bourges use (Brit. Mus., Yates Thompson 37), is very closely related in style.

21. I learn from Carl Nordenfalk that he has formed the

same hypothesis, that he, however, believes it is probably correct, and will discuss it in the course of a forthcoming review of the exhibition in *Kunstchronik*.

22. I owe to M. André Chamson the privilege of studying the painting outside its frame when it was exhibited in the Petit Palais, and to M. Porcher the opportunity of testing my conclusion concretely just now by actually laying the Louvre painting on a folio of the Grandes Heures.

chambre of Jean de Berry from 1384 until 1409 at least. Of this numerous group, consisting of the master of the first two folios of the Brussels Hours, the Passion Master, the Parement Master, the Trinity Master, the Brussels Master and Master B, only the last two can be considered serious candidates for the honor. On grounds of quality alone the Brussels Master wins hands down, and I believe he is the more likely choice, but the problem is too complex to be set forth fully here.

It was the Brussels Master (probably Jacquemart de Hesdin) who, more than any other painter, shaped the course of Parisian painting from about 1385 to 1405. His early work in the *Petites Heures* was the chief model for the master who directed one of the most active ateliers from the nineties on, working sometimes for Jean de Berry, but often for other clients too. Inasmuch as one of his most richly illuminated manuscripts is the Missal and Pontifical made shortly after the turn of the century for Etienne Loyseau, Bishop of Luçon (no. 192, Lat. 8886), I have, by old but perhaps not altogether justifiable habit, called him briefly the Luçon Master. At a time when the work of all the leading illuminators was distinguished by subtlety of color and value and an exquisite finish, his painting was the most refined and graceful of all. He learned from the early Brussels Master how to give to pale, delicately colored forms a sort of soft luminousness, and he enhanced the inherent elegance of these figures by further attenuation and by echoing in their ambient their long, gently curving lines. Among the manuscripts for which, as *chef d'atelier*, he was responsible, the handsome Boccaccio in Geneva (ms fr. 190), given to Jean de Berry in 1411, should perhaps be mentioned first (Fig. 4), as well as a *Livre des Bonnes Moeurs* of 1410 (no. 195, Fr. 1023), but much earlier, perhaps in the period 1395-1400, he painted the *Psalter and Hours* (no. 129, Lat. 1082). He illuminated another book of hours in the Mazarine (no. 491), a copy of Aristotle's *Politics and Ethics* in Brussels (mss 9089-9090), another in Paris (Fr. 208), and his atelier, at least, was responsible for the didactic treatises produced for Marie de Berry in 1406 (no. 185, Fr. 926).²³ In many of these paintings there are reflections of the later style of the Brussels Master, and these are particularly prominent in the *Terence des Ducs* (no. 165, Arsenal 664), the most exquisite manuscript of its period. Its frontispiece, most of the miniatures up to fol. 85v and the *Phormion* are closely related to the style of our master, though obviously modified in its qualities of volume and space by special influences.

The *Terence des Ducs* as well as other manuscripts from the circle of the Luçon Master clearly presuppose the fully developed, Italianate style of the Brussels Master (Jacquemart?), and give us further reason to conclude that this was formed in the nineties. We must draw the same inference from the work of another painter whose atelier, a very successful one, collaborated with that of the Luçon Master, as well as the Boucicaut Master, the Bedford Master, and others during the first fifteen years of the century. In the *Terence des Ducs* itself he painted the *Heautontimoroumenos*. We may see his style emerge in the very first years of the century in some miniatures of a *bible historiale* (no. 159, Arsenal 5057-8). His atelier was responsible for a *Chronicle of William of Burgues* (Brit. Mus. Royal 19 E vi), bought by Jean de Berry in 1407, and for a *City of God* (Fr. 174) illuminated before 1409, as well as for many miniatures in the well-known *Dialogues of Pierre Salmon* of that year (no. 197, Fr. 23279). An ambitious follower of the Brussels Master, he exaggerates some of that painter's Italian traits, using, for instance, a much more prominent green underpainting in the flesh areas. He likes, too, to extend the landscapes of the Brussels Master, immersing his somewhat squat and rather repetitive figures in immense mountainous panoramas. Now this painter, though he did undertake religious manuscripts (Fig. 5),²⁴ became, perhaps through no decision of his own, a specialist in the illumination of secular texts. Perhaps because of his Italian proclivities he was chosen by the enormously active Italian poetess Christine de Pisan, or by her admirers, as the illuminator of many manuscripts of her works. He may thus be designated the Master of Christine de Pisan, or briefly, the Christine Master. We can see his style emerging in parts of her earliest manuscript (no. 149, Fr. 606), and then again in no. 162 (Fr. 607), no. 150 (Fr. 833-836), Fr. 603, Brit. Mus. Harley 4431, Brussels 9393, and Fr. 1179. Between ca. 1410 and 1416, subject to new influences and in a somewhat different phase, he was responsible for most of the miniatures in the famous Boccaccio of Jean sans Peur (no. 170, Arsenal 5193), collaborating with the Bedford Master.²⁵

Quite apart from her sex, Christine de Pisan as an Italian writer resident in France had no counterpart in the world of painters. So great, however, was the enthusiasm at the end of the century for Italian art and literature (Boccaccio) that Jean de Berry employed an Italian, Pietro da Verona, as "librarian," and even an undistinguished, though interesting Italian illuminator could make a success in Paris and at the

23. Other manuscripts that belong wholly or in part to this group are: Leningrad, Fr. Q. v. XIV 3; Berlin, Staatsbibl. Theol. lat. qu. 7; Harvard University, Houghton Library, Richardson MS 45; Morgan Library 743; Philadelphia Museum 45-65-5 (with the early Bedford Master); Walters 231 and 232; Holkham Hall 307; Brit. Mus. Yates Thompson 37 and Add. 29433. Closely related: Hours of Anne of Mathefelon, Museum, Bourges; Brussels 9226; Walters 100.

24. I might cite further the *Chronique de St. Denis*, no. 151, Mazarine 2028, and in part, two manuscripts of the Cité de

Dieu, Fr. 23 and Arsenal 5060. Also parts of the Bibles, no. 204, Fr. 9-10 (Fig. 5), and Brit. Mus. Royal 15 D III, and a Vincent of Beauvais, The Hague, Royal Library, 72 A 24.

25. He had earlier illuminated another manuscript of Boccaccio, Fr. 16994. Also in part the Boccaccio no. 176 (Fr. 226), and six miniatures cut out from a Boccaccio now in the Museo Civico, Pavia.

Other secular manuscripts illuminated in this atelier are Brit. Mus. Egerton 2709; Berlin, Staatsbibl., Phillips 1917; and Morgan 536.

princely courts. Since this man, active in France from the nineties on, was invited to collaborate in one of the most personal of the Duke's manuscripts, the Brussels Hours, and to paint all of the initials, and since his works show many North Italian qualities, I attempted to test some time ago the hypothesis that these two personalities were identical. On the other hand, the sharp eye of M. Porcher has observed a small inscription, written upside down, in the borders of one of the manuscripts—"Zebo da Firenze dipintore"—and O. Pächt has just now identified this "Zebo" with a certain Zanobi da Firenze recorded in Bologna, a proposal which at the moment seems very questionable, though our master was undeniably active in that city, painting a book of hours now in the British Museum (Add. 34247), and in 1408 a miniature in the Statutes of the Compagnia dello Spedale di S. Maria della Vita.²⁶ Whoever he actually was, he is more interesting historically and intellectually than artistically. His very presence in Paris, and in the circles of the leading painters, as an exponent (however modest) of a revered art was important. He brought into his new milieu, beyond the characteristic elements of North Italian illumination of this period, a series of images produced by a bookish or at least literate mind and a keen wit. He illustrates, for instance, episodes of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* seldom found elsewhere, such as the Virgin in the shed of the Nativity seated upon the saddle Joseph furnished her in lieu of a cushion (*Horae*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio, no. 2099). In one of his later books of hours (originally for Charles le Noble, now in a private collection), as in Quattrocento Italy, when this humble seat was rather frequently represented, it is Joseph himself who makes use of it. The curious illustration accompanying a prayer to the Virgin in a book of hours in the British Museum (Add. 29433), showing the Virgin and Joseph seated alongside a pool, in which stands the nude youthful Christ, suggests that the painter, unlike many of his colleagues, had at least the habit of reading his text: "Doulce dame de misericorde, fontaine de tous biens qui portates iesu Christ . . . (Fig. 6)." In his borders he delights in such episodes as a cock, standing before a fire, calmly turning a fox on a spit (Add. 29433). He can be exceptionally bold; in the border alongside the scene of Joseph and Mary taking the Child into Egypt, there is an old

man and a conspicuous youthful, nude *pisser* (Hours of Charles le Noble). In his new environment our painter received as well as gave. He assimilated many French conventions to his border patterns, and in a theme such as the Man of Sorrows we can watch his development from Italian types that show Christ unsupported in his tomb (Add. 34247) or embraced by the Virgin (Hours of Charles le Noble) to the French type in which Christ is held by an angel (Add. 29433).

Both in quantity and quality the production of illuminated books reached unprecedented heights in France early in the fifteenth century. Quite apart from two great painters, Pol Limburg and the Boucicaut Master, there worked alongside the painters whom we have already discussed other masters who were less closely connected with Italian and even Parisian traditions of the fourteenth century than with those of the Netherlands. Outstanding among these illuminators, whose work impresses us by its luminosity, its bravura, its narrative vigor, was the so-called Master of 1402 (see especially two manuscripts of Boccaccio, no. 157, Fr. 12420, and no. 158, Fr. 598), and probably also of Flemish origin,²⁷ the very similar but bolder master who worked on the Bible Historiale no. 159, Arsenal 5057-5058, where he appears at his best on fol. 300 of the second volume. The Bedford Master owes much to these painters, if indeed he was not himself a Netherlander. We can now clearly see that he was very active before the famous Missal of St. Magloire (no. 171, Arsenal 623—before 1412).²⁸ He was responsible, for instance, as the catalogue states, for the excellent miniature in the Sallust, Catalina, produced before 1407 (no. 209, Lat. 9684), and he seems to me the author of the well-known miniature, *St. Peter Greeting Jean de Berry*, in the Grandes Heures (finished by 1409), always attributed to his collaborator, the Boucicaut Master.

Closely allied with these painters, and indeed collaborating with them, was a master of quite distinctive style, the chief illuminator of a book of hours in the British Museum, Egerton 1070. Mrs. Schilling has recently attributed to him a share in seven manuscripts, two of them I believe incorrectly.²⁹ To this group may be added miniatures in almost a dozen other manuscripts, in which he collaborated with all the leading masters of the time. In one of his earliest works, a book of hours in the Biblioteca Nacional in

26. Pächt was the first to print a list of his works (in *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, p. 52 n. 19; then rightly corrected by the subtraction of the Beatty Hours, and enlarged by the addition of the Hours of Charles le Noble, in *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1956, p. 115 n. 24). With the exception of the Madonna of 1408 and Bodleian Douce 62, I had independently brought together the same works. (See Erwin Panofsky's reference to my identification of the painter of the initials in the Brussels Hours as North Italian in the mimeographed syllabus, *Gothic and Late Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York University, 1935, p. 74).

To Pächt's list should be added a set of calendar miniatures in Leningrad, Lat. Q. v. 1 111, and the Book of Hours in Parma, Bibl. Palatina, ms 159, which, like Bodleian Douce 62, belongs among the earlier works made in Paris and was pro-

duced in collaboration with the same French illuminator, who was much influenced by the style of the Petites Heures.

27. On the Flemish origin of the Master of 1402 see M. Porcher's observations in the entry for no. 158.

28. M. Porcher wrongly, I think, attributes the full-page miniatures at the Canon to the atelier of the Boucicaut Master rather than to the Bedford Master—undeniably much influenced at this time by the former.

29. *Scriptorium*, vii, 1954, pp. 272ff. I agree with the attribution of miniatures in the Corsini *Horae*, *Horae* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1646-1902), Brit. Mus. Royal 15 D III, Fr. 9-10, and Chantilly 64. Unacceptable are Berlin Printroom 78 C. 4 and the many miniatures in Fr. 2810, which are rather by a painter working entirely within the orbit of the Master of 1402 and the Bedford Master.

Madrid (Vitrina 25, no. 1) he was joined by the atelier of the Boucicaut Master. He collaborated with this shop again in Cotton Nero E II, but with the Master of Christine de Pisan in Fr. 606 (no. 149) and Fr. 833-6 (no. 150). He worked alongside the Pseudo-Jacquemart in no. 184, and the Master of the Brussels Initials in the Hours of Charles le Noble. He was responsible for a book of hours in the British Museum (Add. 30899) as well as some leaves from a similar manuscript in the Musée Cluny. He had ample occasion to study the style of the Limburgs, which impressed him deeply, for he painted some of the initials in the *Très Riches Heures*.³⁰

At his best, which undoubtedly means his most autograph, as in the Hours of Charles le Noble, the Egerton Master is impressive for his subtle, very personal color—blue-green, violet, yellow-brown—as well as for his no less personal, pungent narrative. He was fond of the luminary vibrancy that can be produced by stippling, a method that may be traced back to Jean Bondol. In order to extend his effects of shimmering atmosphere into the sky, he exploits the technique of glazing metal, preferring particularly a blue glaze on an expanse of silver. Altogether his delight in light-filled space, impulsive behavior, and rather eccentric color makes him a sort of minor spiritual ancestor of the Virgo Master. Even that extraordinary master, in his well-known *Lamentation* (Liverpool), did not present us with a more touching image of bodily collapse and death than we may see in the Hours of Charles le Noble (Fig. 7).

We are bound to think of the same region and the same pictorial culture when we consider the chief master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur. The two painters had much in common, and in fact they worked together on at least three occasions. The Breviary contains several miniatures by the Egerton Master,³¹ and the atelier of the Breviary Master contributed several miniatures to the Egerton Master's Bible (Royal 15 D III). Furthermore the *Très Riches Heures*, in which the Egerton Master had played a minor role, contains numerous initials by the Master of the Breviary. The observation of the collaboration of the Breviary Master with the "Limburgs" is particularly interesting because his stylistic relationships with them have often been pointed out. What consequences we may draw from this observation as to his actual identity I shall have to leave to the text of my book.

30. There are, in addition, a number of manuscripts more or less under his influence: The Hague, Royal Library, 72 A 22; Brit. Mus. Royal 19 D III (written 1411); Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibl. A. 3. Aug. fol.; Munich, Cod. gall. 3; nos. 206 and 207 in the exhibition.

31. Add. 35311, fols. 322v, 327, 329, 337; Harley 2897, fols. 159, 249, 252v, 254v, 258, 385. Another illuminator in the manuscript was much influenced by the Egerton Master.

32. The connection between the Chester Beatty and Dyson Perrins manuscripts was pointed out by S. Cockerell in the *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts at Burlington House*, London, 1908, in which the two were shown as nos. 204 and 205. To this group Pächt (*Warburg Journal*, XIII, 1950, p. 44 n. 1) rightly joined two miniatures in a book of hours sold at Sotheby's July 1, 1946, lot 20.

But the Breviary Master himself reappears in a more interesting light in four miniatures in a fascinating book of hours in the Walters Art Gallery (no. 219—Fig. 8). Here he has abandoned line for the definition of form, and, in the manner of later North Netherlandish painting, relies wholly on value and color. He works with a stipple technique reminiscent of the Egerton Master, but subtler and capable of producing a far greater luminosity. His mild saints and gentle landscapes are enveloped in a vibrant, light-filled space that makes us think of the confessors and martyrs behind the fountain in the *Adoration of the Lamb*.

The large leaves and berries in the borders of the Walters book of hours seem to manifest a very different taste, and indeed they are the work of the painter who executed most of the miniatures in this interesting manuscript, as well as its borders. Now this painter was an Italian, apparently active in northern and eastern France. In addition to Walters 219, which has a Paris calendar, he executed miniatures in several other books of hours, one of Besançon use recently sold at auction, another in the Chester Beatty Collection with a Paris calendar, and a third belonging to Dyson Perrins, use of Chalons-sur-Marne.³² Another book of hours in the Walters Collection (no. 290), which is stylistically related, seems to be connected with Sens.³³ This painter's iconography is as exceptional in the North as his style. For the reading from St. Luke in Walters 219, for instance, he shows not the usual Evangelist but the scene of the Marriage of the Virgin (Fig. 9).

Almost all the painters of the early fifteenth century whom we have discussed were influenced by, and indeed collaborated with, the two great masters, or ateliers, of the time—the Boucicaut Master and, to a lesser extent, the Limburgs (Fig. 10).³⁴ These two leading styles differ in many ways, but they also have important qualities in common. Both are deeply indebted to Italian art—the style of the Boucicaut Master perhaps more than is generally admitted. Both are poised, structured, and monumental, and both sought to present a new panoramic image of a bright, sensuous world. The art of both contributed greatly to the new panel painting of the Netherlands, and the Boucicaut Master in particular exerted an enormous influence on the illumination of his time. Despite this influence, however, he witnessed steadily developing counter-movements, even among his disciples and collaborators. First

Pächt seems to me wrong, however, on two scores. He believed the painter of all these works to be French, and discusses his "astonishing Italianism"—less surprising, of course, if the painter came from the peninsula. Pächt failed to observe, furthermore, that there are two or more styles in the Beatty Hours. Judging from the not very clear reproductions, *September* is by the Master of Walters 219, as are the *Preaching of John* and the *Nailing of Christ to the Cross*, while *May*, altogether different, is apparently by a French master.

33. For this information, as for much else about the Walters manuscripts, I am indebted to their unfailingly helpful and generous Keeper, Miss Dorothy Miner.

34. This single leaf, acquired by the Rosenwald Collection a few years ago, has not, so far as I know, previously been published.

the Bedford Master, whom we now glimpse in the early years of the century, and not long afterward the Rohan Master, declared their desire for a livelier, more emotional art, capable of communicating the darker aspects of life and the mind. They were joined by another follower of the Boucicaut Master, whose vigorous patterns remind us more of the famous Apocalypse, Néerlandais 3, than the balanced compositions of his teacher. His masterpiece, an apocalypse that belonged to Jean de Berry (Morgan 133), shows a boldness of color that matches the powerful designs—broad expanses of yellow, red, green, often brought up to chalk white and displayed before rich maroon backgrounds (Fig. 11). These colors are laid on with a freedom that is reminiscent of the wash-techniques

prized especially in the Netherlands. This excellent illuminator, whose work has not hitherto been recognized, worked on a *Cité de Dieu* in the exhibition, no. 163, Fr. 25 (Fig. 12), the Commentary on the Psalms, Fr. 964, a *Roman de la Rose* in Stuttgart, Cod. poet. 6, and several other manuscripts.³⁵

Such are some of the reviewer's ideas about thirty odd years of the three centuries included in the exhibition. These years compose, in the words of M. Porcher, "la période la plus confuse, et aussi peut-être la plus riche de la peinture médiévale française." Of the truth of the former I fear that the reader will now be more than ever convinced.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

35. Munich, Cod. gall. 26 and Leningrad, Fr. Q. v. III 4. Also thirty-one miniatures in the Albert Rosset Collection, Lyons, knowledge of which I owe to the generosity of Miss Meta Harrsen of the Morgan Library. More or less closely

related are: Brit. Mus. Royal 20 B IV; no. 175 (Fr. 2663-4, a few miniatures only); Fr. 20 (*Cité de Dieu*); a *Chronique de Froissart* (Morgan 804); a *Livre des Merveilles* (Morgan 723).

BOOK REVIEWS

GABRIEL MILLET, *La Peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)*, fasc. I, Album présenté par A. Frolov, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1954. Pp. xiii; 94 pls.

Yugoslavia, Mediaeval Frescoes, preface by David Talbot Rice, introduction by Svetozar Radojčić, Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society (UNESCO World Art Series), 1955. Pp. 29; 32 pls. \$15.00

If mediaeval Serbian painting has come within the purview of Western scholars, that is due largely to the pioneering efforts of Gabriel Millet (d. 1953). In the course of several expeditions into what is now Yugoslavia, the first of which took place in 1906 and the last in 1935, he assembled a vast body of material, which he deposited at the École des Hautes-Études. In his numerous published works Millet made ample use of this collection of photographs, sketches, and notes, but he never wrote that comprehensive work on Serbian painting to which he intended to dedicate his declining years, and which would have served as a pendant to his survey of Serbian church architecture.¹ It is indeed fortunate that Millet's photographic record of Serbian frescoes, which, until now, could only be consulted in Paris, should become available to all scholars, and we must extend our gratitude to André Grabar, who initiated this project. The publication is to be made up of several fascicules and to conclude with a complementary issue containing frescoes that have come to light only in recent years, a table showing the distribution of the various paintings in each church, and a general iconographic index.

Fascicule I, under review, is devoted to the earliest monuments, from St. Sophia at Ohrid (middle of the eleventh century) to the church at Morača (middle of the thirteenth century). We are presented here with the period of purely Byzantine painting on Macedonian and Serbian soil, of which St. Sophia and Nerezi are the most eminent representatives, followed by the emergence, in the first half of the thirteenth century, of a remarkable new school, which suddenly confronts us at Mileševo (ca. 1235.) The further development of this admirable thirteenth century style, which reaches its peak at Sopoćani (ca. 1260), is reserved for the second fascicule.

A. Frolov provides a brief but eminently useful introduction, in which he lists the essential facts, dates, and bibliography pertaining to each monument. This form of presentation will certainly prove serviceable to scholars, so that Millet's albums, when published in their entirety, will largely supersede, as a reference work, the pictorial surveys of Serbian painting by Okunev² and Petković.³ It is indeed for scholars that

the present album appears to be primarily intended. The photographs are documentary rather than artistic, and furthermore, they portray the monuments not as they are today, but as they were before the Second World War. This is an important fact to bear in mind, considering that a whole gallery of ancient frescoes has been conscientiously uncovered, since the war, from beneath later overpainting and Turkish plaster. Thus, in the case of several churches, Millet's photographs tell but an incomplete tale. This reservation applies to St. Sophia at Ohrid, where work is still in progress,⁴ to the most interesting little church at Kurbinovo, and, to a lesser extent, to Nerezi and Studenica (both the main church and the chapel of St. Nicholas). Note also that one important monument, namely Peć (1250), has been omitted, because Millet's plates were not satisfactory. On the other hand, the frescoes of Djurdjevi Stupovi and Žiča have been either destroyed or severely damaged since Millet's time. They are, indeed, known from previous publications, but that does not diminish the documentary value of Millet's photographs.

As regards the presentation of the album, one could make a number of minor suggestions. It would have been more helpful, for example, if the distribution of scenes in each church were given at this stage, with the help of sketch plans and schematic interior elevations, rather than being reserved for the last fascicule. That would also tell the reader which paintings were not illustrated. It might have been useful to indicate, whenever possible, at what date the photographs were taken. In some cases the location of individual scenes and portraits could be given more fully; some subjects could be more exactly identified (e.g. the bishops at Nerezi, who are distinctly labelled by means of inscriptions: the hymnographers on the north wall of the same church are also identifiable from the inscribed scrolls they hold). But these are small matters compared with the general excellence of the work, and one must not forget the difficulties which a posthumous publication imposes upon the editor.

It is a contrast to turn from Millet's sober black and white photographs to the lavish UNESCO album forming part of the "World Art Series." Here we have 32 plates in full color, a stunning array of neglected masterpieces that is, of course, intended for a much wider public but is no less interesting to the scholar. The monuments represented are St. Sophia at Ohrid (8 pls.), Nerezi (3 pls.), Mileševo (3 pls.), Sopoćani (5 pls.), Bogorodica Ljeviška at Prizren (2 pls.), Milutin's church at Studenica (4 pls.), Gračanica (2 pls.), Dečani (2 pls.), Kalenić (1 pl.) and Manasija (2 pls.), thus forming a panorama that extends from the eleventh to the early fifteenth century. Some of the same frescoes have already been reproduced in color in

1. *L'ancien art serbe*, Paris, 1919.

2. *Monumenta artis serbicae*, 4 fasc., Zagreb-Prague, 1928-1932.

3. *La peinture serbe du moyen âge*, Belgrad, 2 vols., 1930

and 1932.

4. See *St. Sophia of Ochrida*, UNESCO (Museums and Monuments, IV), 1953.

Grabar's *Byzantine Painting* (Geneva, Skira, 1953), and the difference between the two publications is very striking, especially in the rendering of blues. If memory serves me right, the UNESCO reproductions are more faithful, though tending to be a trifle too mat. The excellence of the plates, by itself, assures the value of the UNESCO volume. One may, of course, disagree as to the selections: why is it, for example, that the charming frieze of angels at St. Sophia has been omitted in favor of Jacob's dream or a repetition of the Sacrifice of Abraham on two plates? Why has the grandiose Crucifixion at Studenica been left out? Perhaps there are technical reasons for these omissions. One may also regret that the famous Lamentation at Nerezi has been amputated at the bottom, cutting off the diagonal line of the Virgin's cross-legged posture. The fact that color reproduction is generally much more successful in close-ups than in over-all views has probably dictated the preponderance of details, which, of necessity, gives an artificial idea of the monuments. One could hardly imagine by looking, for instance, at the two reproductions from Dečani, the pictorial overcrowding—one might almost say the vermiculation—of many fourteenth century churches. It may have been possible to compensate for this deficiency by giving one or two over-all interior views in black and white. Yet, whatever criticism one may make, the fact remains that never before have the frescoes of Yugoslavia been presented to the public in such impressive form.

The introductory text is made up of a preface by Professor D. Talbot Rice and a more detailed excursus by Professor Radojčić of the University of Belgrad, illustrated by exterior views of some of the churches in black and white. Few specialists have done as much as Professor Talbot Rice to bring Byzantine art to a wide audience. Here, in general and clear terms, he defines the Byzantine approach to religious painting, especially as exemplified in the Serbian frescoes. One may wish to question some of his ideas, whether, for instance, the Virgin of the Annunciation at Mileševo was the happiest choice for illustrating the spirituality and other-worldliness of Byzantine art, or whether the love of realism does in fact distinguish the Serbian school from that of Greece and Constantinople; but these are minor matters. For the general reader, the introduction by Professor Radojčić will doubtless prove too abstruse; the scholar, on the other hand, can be thankful for the great amount of detailed information that has been compressed into these few pages. Some of this information is both little-known and important, as when the author outlines the activity of the painters Astrapas, Michael, and Eutychius, who bridged the break between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and were responsible for the introduction into Serbia of the Palaeologan style. Note, incidentally, that Professor Radojčić identifies Michael as the disciple of Astrapas: they were, however, one and the same per-

son, Michael Astrapas.⁵ While ascribing to Serbians the creation of the great thirteenth century frescoes, Professor Radojčić acknowledges the debt to Italy, nor does he minimize the preponderant role of Byzantium; thus, although warning against oversimplification, he admits that the decline of Serbian painting between about 1320 and 1380 was due to the break with the Greek Church. One may be slightly puzzled by some statements, as when, in describing the development of hagiographic scenes in the early fourteenth century (a general phenomenon at that time), Professor Radojčić says that the painters' "literary taste usually maintained a high standard," while after 1321, "their literary taste became uncertain." But, all in all, the introduction by Professor Radojčić is of the greatest interest and value, which makes it all the more regrettable that the English translation should not have been more carefully revised. Thus, how many readers would know that Kostur refers to the Greek city of Kastoria? In a bibliography that only covers a few lines, there are four slips: Auguste Pitard should be Auguste Picard; Lazarév's fundamental work on Byzantine painting is entitled *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, not *Istorija vizantiskog slikarstva*; de Poccard should be de Boccard; and the title of the UNESCO report on St. Sophia at Ohrid is incorrectly indented, so that it appears to be the work of Okunev, which it is not.

It is to be hoped that the appearance of the above two albums will stimulate further study of the Serbian frescoes. For, although some of the problems, like the transition from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, are becoming clarified, there are many others that still remain unsolved. Certainly the most baffling is the genesis of the great thirteenth century paintings, whose style extends into northern Greece, yet is entirely foreign to Bulgaria. According to Radojčić, Grabar, and others, these are the work of native Serbian masters; Xyngopoulos, on the other hand, ascribes the formation of the new school to Thessalonica.⁶ The presence of Italian influence is obvious. Professor Radojčić mentions in this connection the crucifixes by Giunta Pisano; another significant parallel may be found in the thirteenth century frescoes of San Zen Degolà in Venice.⁷ Is it Thessalonica or Venice that inspired the return to early Christian models that so struck Okunev at Mileševo? The inscriptions in the Serbian churches of that period are in Slavic; yet at Studenica (1209), which foreshadows the new style, there has been found a Greek painter's signature. Whether the answer is to be sought in Serbia itself, on the Adriatic, or in Greek Macedonia, we are confronted here with a major problem, one that Millet and Okunev have already brought to the fore, and which concerns directly both the Palaeologan art of Byzantium and the early Italian Renaissance.

CYRIL MANGO

Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

5. See A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture macédonienne*, Athens, 1955, pp. 38-39.

6. *ibid.*, pp. 23ff.; *idem* in *Makedonika*, III (1956), pp.

425-432.

7. See *Arte veneta*, V (1951), pp. 7-14.

The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens, translated and edited by Ruth Saunders Magurn, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. 528; 17 plates. \$10.00.

The twentieth century mind, carefully nurtured on a meager diet of narrow and specialized knowledge, finds it difficult to comprehend a personality as expansive, as prolific, and as versatile as that of Peter Paul Rubens. The full stature of such a man cannot be measured solely in terms of his artistic production, immense though that was; for the sheer lavishness of his genius required additional outlets, not the least of which was a voluminous and energetic correspondence, carried on, by preference, in Italian. Unluckily, only a few hundred out of the thousands of letters written by Rubens have come down to us. The loss is the more regrettable in that it includes all the artist's domestic correspondence: a great deal of the surviving material deals with matters military and diplomatic, and is thus, art-historically speaking, of secondary interest. In 1887, Charles Ruelens could still entertain a faint hope that the great mass of Rubens' personal archives might one day be recovered. Today it can only be believed that they are irretrievably lost. To be sure, a few stray items may still turn up from time to time, but it is unlikely that the present total of Rubens' letters will ever be substantially increased.

In this volume Ruth Saunders Magurn performs a valuable service by giving us an English translation of all the known Rubens letters—250 in all. There have been French and German translations, but not until now has there been a complete edition in English (Sainsbury's *Original Unpublished Papers* . . . , 1859, included only thirty-eight Rubens letters). Obviously the book does not replace, nor is it intended to replace, the monumental edition of Charles Ruelens and Max Rooses, *Correspondance de Rubens*, 6 vols., 1887-1909, which will always remain the standard work. But it does serve as a useful and even necessary supplement to that fundamental source, by incorporating letters which have since come to light: ten of these are here published for the first time, with transcripts of the original texts in an appendix. For this reason alone we should be grateful.

In an excellent introduction, Miss Magurn begins by defining "the significance of [Rubens'] correspondence both as a personal record and as a historical document." The letters themselves are presented in chronological sequence, as in the *Correspondance de Rubens*, a system surely preferable to the topical arrangement employed by Paul Colin for his French edition of 1926-1927. The material is divided into seven chapters, corresponding to the successive phases of the artist-diplomat's career: each chapter is furnished with a succinct introduction, which admirably sets the stage for the subjects discussed in the letters. Commem-

onaries on the individual letters are contained in the notes, placed (rather inconveniently) at the end of the book. Miss Magurn has also been diligent in tracking down to their sources many of the Latin quotations with which Rubens, *en vrai humaniste*, garnished his correspondence. These are drawn, as one might expect, from a wide range of authors, with a special preference for Horace and Virgil.

The translations have been done with taste and care, and the result is an accurate and—for the most part—very readable text. While applauding Miss Magurn's scrupulous regard for the literal sense, I felt that on occasion this very conscientiousness produced a somewhat stilted effect. In Letter 17, for example, Rubens is made to say: "May you graciously pardon the boredom which I cause by this trifling affair." A simpler rendering, such as "Forgive me for annoying you with this trifle," would surely be preferable, even though it does not follow the courtly Italian text word for word. May one also protest against the repeated adverbial use of "due to," instead of "owing to"? Or have we to concede that this solecism is now above reproach, even in scholarly writing? The many Latin passages interspersed in the text have properly been left in the original tongue, English translations being given in the footnotes. I note only one unimportant inconsistency, which occurs in Letter 52.¹

Mention should also be made of the illustrations, which, although few in number, have been carefully chosen so as to form an effective complement to the text. For example, when Rubens describes the iconography of *The Birth of Marie de' Medici* (Letter 93), it is helpful to find that painting reproduced.

The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens will be welcomed as an important addition to the literature on the artist. As to their significance, most students of Baroque art will find themselves in agreement with the editor's judgment: "While revealing less than we might wish about the man as painter, the letters contribute greatly to our understanding of this many-sided genius."

JOHN RUPERT MARTIN
Princeton University

KLAUS LANKHEIT, *Die Zeichnungen des kurpfälzischen Hofbildhauers Paul Egell*, Karlsruhe, G. Braun, 1954. Pp. 119; 68 figs. DM 30.00.

"Unquestionably Herr Egell has few if any equals in Germany": so wrote his contemporary Peter Alef in 1747. Since then connoisseurs as discriminating as Hagedorn and Feulner have agreed that Paul Egell was the outstanding German-speaking sculptor of his age, rivaled, if at all, only by George Raphael Donner. In addition he was a notable book illustrator and the most effective teacher among the artists of his generation.

1. Here Rubens, writing to Peiresc, delicately retreats into Latin when he discusses the meaning of an erotic gem (cf. *Corr. Rubens*, III, 216). In the present edition (p. 91) only the first

part of the passage is in Latin; the remainder is given in English, and this, moreover, appears to be a translation, not of the Latin, but of Rooses' French version (*Corr. Rubens*, III, 219).

Few men of comparable stature have had such bad luck. Ignored throughout the nineteenth century, he was all but forgotten when Demmler reestablished his importance in 1922. Unfortunately no one had completed a comprehensive study of his achievements before the Second World War. The destruction which then took place has made such a study much more difficult. Today, if anything survives of Egell's work as a journeyman, it is hidden among the ruins and restorations of the Zwinger. His masterpiece, the great altar in Berlin, no longer exists; the stuccoes in the palace at Mannheim have been bombed to fragments; the altar at Hildesheim is badly damaged; and all but two of the drawings in a recently discovered trove were burned up even before an inventory had been prepared. These are merely the major and known losses.

Fortunately some ninety of his drawings have survived. Their careful publication in this fine volume is an important step in the rediscovery of a great artist.

Everyone will turn first to the illustrations. About two-thirds of the catalogue entries are represented and the choice is admirable. The reproductions make clear every aspect of Egell's achievement. Nonetheless the available material is so rich that some exceptionally important and beautiful drawings could not be included. Among these are No. 43, the sketch for the relief of Sts. Ignatius and Francis Xavier, and No. 70, figures in a formal garden.

Despite the large format and the many reproductions, this is not a picture book to be casually skimmed. The untitled plates must be considered as illustrations of the excellent *catalogue raisonné*. Here every entry is consistent and complete as regards description and bibliography. The whole contains an astonishing wealth of information.

A scholar less circumspect than Lankheit would have tried to arrange the drawings chronologically or in some other order he found illuminating. But our knowledge of Egell is so limited that such a procedure would have involved many assumptions and could have been deeply misleading. The author has chosen a neutral order, arranging the drawings by subject matter—altarpieces, tombs, single figures, book illustrations. Perhaps he carries classification too far. Similar drawings of balancing objects are discussed and illustrated in different parts of the book (Nos. 20 and 56). Studies of different aspects of the same monument are not always reproduced near one another (Nos. 4 and 31). Yet such separations are only a minor nuisance. The catalogue entries are linked by an admirable network of cross-references which makes it easy to rearrange the material in any way one wishes.

Lankheit had a difficult task. Several of the drawings had been hastily published and he found the literature on Egell encumbered with untenable hypotheses. An acute critical instinct combined with a detailed knowledge of the Rhineland enabled him to dispose of these hypotheses conclusively. A driving sense of responsibility combined with unusual historical imagination led him to suggest fruitful alternatives. His startling identification of No. 3 as an early study for the Berlin altar

is convincing. His attribution of Nos. 7-13, a series of designs for a tomb, is plausible and stimulating if not yet conclusively proved. His brilliant reconstruction of the destroyed Heidelberg altar has already justified itself. From a diversity of obscure and scattered secondary sources Lankheit built up a clear image of the vanished monument. A member of his seminar was then able to recognize a small tabernacle door as a fragment of the altarpiece, thus adding one more precious relief to the limited group of Egell's late works.

But a large part of Lankheit's success comes from the discipline he imposes upon his remarkable gift for reconstruction. Only rarely (as when he tries to define the motives for Bibiena's participation in Egell's altarpieces) does he go beyond the available evidence. Often the reader will be tempted to plunge ahead where the author has wisely hesitated. This reviewer found that temptation irresistible.

He cannot accept the Karlsruhe Atlas as a work of Egell. At most it is a school piece.

He believes the relation between the engraving of the Oggersheim altar and the executed work needs further investigation. The engraving is inscribed 1733 and seems an altogether typical example of Egell's style at this time (cf. drawing No. 2, dated 1734). The extraordinary nervousness of the drapery may serve to date other works by Egell, notably the busts in Cologne. The executed work differs from the engraving in several ways. The drapery treatment is less extravagant, the angels are more columnar and by their serpentine movements suggest an interest in the existence of the figures in space, rather than an exclusive fascination with the balance of diagonals on the relief plane. The frame of the altar is less primly architectural and is based on a piling up of heavy, shell-like forms, all vigorously modeled. It is hardly conceivable that these differences in style are the result of the differences in medium, especially as all of the changes in the executed work anticipate the Berlin altar, which was commissioned in 1739. This reviewer would tentatively suggest that the Oggersheim altar was executed some years after the engraving. Documents indicate that the Berlin altar may have been based on a design by Alessandro Galli Bibiena. Whether he had anything to do with the Oggersheim altar must remain an open question.

The relation between drawing No. 53 and the portal sculpture in Frankfurt may be somewhat more complicated than the author indicates. The drawing is presumably a design for a relief, as is suggested by the holograph inscription "*1 1/2 schuh dick*." This function, rather than the master's free-wheeling pen, accounts for the bundles of grass exploding from the heads of the principal figures. The relief could not have been designed for Prince Anselm of Thurn und Taxis, for at the top is an electoral crown. It seems to be surmounted by a double (archepiscopal?) cross. Presumably the sketch was made for an Elector and the composition was taken up again later at Frankfurt. If this hypothesis is accepted, the drawing might be dated as early as the late 1720's because of the resemblances

to the Minerva in Speyer and to the frame of the Cologne Lamentation.

This reviewer believes drawing No. 35 should be dated at least five years earlier than does Lankheit, because of the striking resemblance of the niche and of the drapery style to the Oggersheim engraving. By contrast Nos. 63 and 70 cannot have been executed much before 1745. They show an assurance and a freedom of pose as well as a movement of the figures in space that suggests such works as the *Fein Monument at Durlach*.

The illustrations and the *catalogue raisonné* are complemented by a substantial introductory essay. In an opening section Lankheit disposes of certain general problems which cannot be adequately handled elsewhere. He points out the differences between the master's drawings and those of his shop; he carefully and perceptively analyzes Egell's technique as a draughtsman and discusses the evolution of his style of drawing.

All this requires sensitive and sophisticated connoisseurship. But Lankheit is not limited to that level of insight. His study of the drawings enlarges our understanding of Egell as a sculptor and as a man. To achieve this he had to analyze the function of the known drawings and to formulate hypotheses as to why they have survived.

They fall into four distinct groups. There are drawings for book illustrations, especially two groups for the engravings in the great mid-century edition of the *Scriptores Historiae Romanae*. Several highly finished studies are scattered among various archives; for example Nos. 2, 45-51, and 60. Presumably these are presentation drawings which were accepted for execution. They seem to have been preserved by the Offices of Works of the appropriate princelings. There is a substantial number of drawings in the Kurpfälzischen Museum in Heidelberg and closely associated with them are two drawings now in Darmstadt. All but one of these are finished studies. Of the four surviving drawings that are both signed and dated three belong in this group. But several of the monuments shown on these drawings were never executed at all, and only one was carried out substantially as represented. Most of this group may have been presentation drawings for projects that were turned down. If so, presumably these are drawings that were returned to the artist. Lankheit points out that Egell had a great reputation as a draughtsman during his own lifetime. Possibly some amateur purchased the Heidelberg and Darmstadt drawings directly from him. By far the largest and most varied group is in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne. The author suggests that these drawings may have been collected by the Elector Clemens August. This reviewer finds it hard to believe that such a miscellaneous group of drawings could have been selected by a distinguished connoisseur. Rather they must be a random sample of what was available in the studio. It is indeed a happy chance they have come down to us. Whatever the means by which they have survived, the known drawings are unusually diverse.

They do seem to represent a fair cross-section of Egell's production.

One can, therefore, discuss with some confidence the relation of the artist's drawings to his work as a sculptor. Lankheit, with a characteristic breadth of view, approaches this problem by analyzing the generic possibilities. He outlines the varying relationships drawing can have to statuary and then points out that Egell's painterlike approach to sculpture is characteristic of his age and school.

Just because Lankheit's attention is focused on the broad issues, he sometimes fails to analyze exhaustively certain peculiarities of the material at hand. Egell's work as a sculptor can be documented for nearly forty years. It is odd that almost all of his drawings fall into one fifteen-year period towards the end of his career. This, and (as Lankheit indicates) the character of the drawings themselves, suggests that Egell was not trained as a draughtsman in his youth, but taught himself the discipline relatively late in his life. The author has even indicated the period.

The first documentary references to Egell prove that during the second decade of the century he was active in Bamberg and Dresden. His work of the 1720's reveals that he was formed by Permoser and obsessed by memories of Schluter. Towards the end of the decade he must have collaborated closely with the French court architects at Mannheim. Perhaps the retirement of Froimon and the appointment of Hauberat in 1726 brought a decisive change. Possibly Egell himself went to France, although there is no documentary evidence of such a trip. Certainly, in some way or other Egell came to know French art well, and by the early 1730's he had adopted a rococo decorative vocabulary. He even learned to write French, as drawing No. 42 indicates, and at the end of his life he sent his son Augustin to study sculpture in France. It can hardly be a coincidence that he began to be seriously interested in drawing during the very years he was learning about French art.

By then Egell was almost forty. The fact that he was a mature sculptor before he became an enthusiastic draughtsman must account for some of the peculiarities of his graphic art. There is not a single drawing after another artist's work, although a relief is known which copies Bernini's *St. Theresa*. The proportion of finished drawings is high. Sheets where the artist makes several studies of a single figure are rare. Among the surviving drawings there are only two series showing a succession of studies for a single monument. Although Egell quickly became a proficient draughtsman, these peculiarities suggest that he never learned to exploit drawing fully as an aid to the creation of sculpture. He must always have considered drawing as an independent art, an end rather than a means. Consequently it seems to have exerted greater influence on his sculpture than is normally the case.

As Lankheit has pointed out, the greatest difficulty in the study of Egell's work is to determine the chronology of his achievements between about 1730 and about 1745. These were the most fruitful years of the artist's

long career, but, as far as we can now see, they were years of successive crises. We cannot as yet clearly define these crises, let alone fully understand them. Yet the present book makes one phenomenon abundantly clear. During these years the artist did not achieve a stable relationship between drawing and sculpture. And just as the discovery of French art may have precipitated this imbalance, so his Italian trip during the mid-forties may have resolved it. For certainly, during the last nine years of his life, his sculpture seems to become less pictorial and more calligraphic, as for example in the two figures at Simmern and the relief on the façade of the Jesuit church in Mannheim. Also some of the few drawings which can be confidently ascribed to this period are less plastic and more visionary than were the earlier designs. No. 67 is an example.

The peculiarities of Egell's drawings so far mentioned must derive from his personality; other peculiarities result from his relation to fellow artists. The drawings show that the sculptor conceived entire monumental projects. Documents suggest he also executed statues on altarpieces designed by others, notably Alessandro Galli da Bibiena. In some cases he collaborated as one of a team with cabinetmakers and polychromists. But also Egell must have directed the activities of a number of highly gifted pupils. Taken together all the evidence suggests that he was involved in a complex variety of working relationships. We know little of his method of procedure within these relationships. He did make models, and a few *bozzetti* attributed to him have come down to us. But how did he use the various techniques in relation to one another? What parts did the drawings play?

One observation is perhaps worth recording. Drawing No. 29 is a study for a monument to St. John Nepomuk. The base is rendered in meticulous detail, the main figure is somewhat sketchily represented. This suggests that when Egell was defining work to be carried out by independent craftsmen, such as stonecutters and cabinetmakers, he supplied most careful drawings. Drawings No. 59 for the Electoral Loge in Mannheim and No. 60 for the great Tun of Heidelberg confirm this impression. When, however, he was representing work that he himself or his pupils were expected to do, the drawings are much less precise. Probably he used *bozzetti* to determine the details of the strictly sculptural parts of his projects. Such a procedure would explain the curious fact that only one finished drawing has survived which could have served as a design for a relief.

The problem of Egell's relation to his pupils and the problem of the diffusion of Egell's style are keys to the understanding of the best German sculpture of the second half of the eighteenth century. A study of Egell's drawings in relation to his *bozzetti*, models, and finished statues might contribute to the solution of those problems. Lankheit is uniquely qualified to make such a study and one can only hope he will undertake it.

Perhaps the most stimulating aspect of this book are the issues which Lankheit raises but cannot settle. In

some cases, as for example the sources of Egell's style, they cannot be settled in a book limited to the artist's drawings. The author makes many provocative observations on this general subject. His discussion of Egell's relation to Permoser is masterly. He identifies the rococo influence affecting Egell more precisely than has any previous student. He points out stylistic analogies to Puget that are highly suggestive but need further investigation. A definitive treatment of specific relationships to other artists can most profitably be undertaken in studies such as those the author has now in press, and an overall survey of the problem had best wait for a monograph covering the whole of the artist's oeuvre.

Yet there are other problems which, though they cannot be exhaustively treated, merit more attention than Lankheit gives them. Perhaps the most important of these is the complex relationship of Egell's sculpture to architecture. Certainly Egell had a painter's vision and saw sculpture in terms of light and shade. Certainly he often suggests architectural features in the backgrounds of his drawings. What is astonishing is how much less conscious he is of the relation of sculpture to architecture than are many of his contemporaries. In every case where a drawing can be related to a known building, the relation is based on iconography, never on the architecture shown. This is not true of drawings by Ignaz Günther or Joseph Anton Feuchtmayr. Of all Egell's surviving drawings only No. 4 suggests an extensive architectural background. In precisely this example Egell fails to indicate the most striking features of the building, the pilaster on axis and the contrasting blind and open windows. Drawing No. 6 is a lovely study of lights and darks, but it is almost impossible to imagine an actual situation which would have produced this combination of dim arches, a deeply shadowed Nepomuk, and a background of unbroken light. This is not a visualization of a potential composition, but a pictorial fantasy where chiaroscuro patterns exist for themselves. In those drawings where architectural detail is explicitly set forth it is shown stiffly and timidly. Elsewhere the architectural background, though exactly delineated, is perversely presented. In No. 20 Egell carefully indicates the fillet at the top of the pilaster shaft and the profile of the architrave, but leaves the capital, the frieze, and the cornice blank.

Underlying Egell's work is a paradox. Like his Bavarian contemporaries his statues were generally part of an architectural whole. But Egell conceived of sculpture as an independent art. Statues could have artistic qualities apart from their surroundings. This belief allied him with his French contemporaries and should have made him a sympathetic collaborator with the conservative and conventional architects who were employed at the court of the Elector Palatine. In several of the interiors of the palace and on the Kaufhaus at Mannheim such a satisfactory union of architecture and sculpture must have been achieved. But the Electoral architects were heavy-handed provincials, while Egell was the most sensitive European sculptor of his

generation. Moreover, in contrast to such French contemporaries as Bouchardon he thought of sculpture in pictorial rather than in three-dimensional terms. Thus usually there is a disturbing conflict between the delicacy of Egell's architectural sculpture and the coarseness of the buildings on which they are placed. Characteristic examples are the façade of the Mannheim Jesuit church and the entrance of the Thurn und Taxis palace in Frankfurt.

Probably this unhappy relationship to his milieu accounts for that sense of frustration which seems to have darkened Egell's later years, and driven him in upon himself. Certainly this inability to come to terms with his surroundings is responsible for the fact that Egell's most satisfying works are those statues where the background counted for least, single figures such as the Francis Xavier of the Mannheim Museum or "easel reliefs" such as the Lamentation in Cologne.

It is hard to summarize the achievements of a book so rich and varied. Because of our ignorance of Egell it cannot be definitive. Instead, Lankheit has clarified

and corrected our knowledge of the master in innumerable ways. He has overtly or by implication defined certain fundamental problems which urgently require special study. Such, for example, are the French and Italian sources of Egell's style, or his relation to other artists working in Mannheim. By making accessible a large body of material he has greatly enhanced the likelihood of further discoveries. In short, this book has done more to increase our understanding of a great German artist than anything written since Demmler's article a third of a century ago. Like that article it has already been and will continue to be a stimulus to further research. Thus it is at once the crown of many years of effort by many hands, and a cornerstone on which new studies may with security be based. Most important of all, Lankheit's understanding of Egell is so sensitive and his enthusiasm so contagious that this book is certain to increase interest in the little-appreciated master who is its subject.

JOHN COOLIDGE
Harvard University



LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- ANGULO INIGUEZ, DIEGO, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, Barcelona, Salvat Editores, 1956. Pp. 847; 781 figs.; 7 pls. \$18.75.
- BEAULIEU, MICHELE and JEANNE BAYLE, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1956. Pp. 209; ca. 84 figs.; 24 pls. 1500 fr.
- BERENSON, BERNARD, *Lorenzo Lotto*, New York, Phaidon, 1956. Pp. 160; 391 pls. \$15.00.
- BUCHOWIECKI, WALTHER, *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, n.s., VII, 2, Vienna, Bohlaus, 1955. Pp. 271; 141 pls. DM 38.00.
- CIRLOT, JUAN EDUARDO, *Romanesque Art*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 23; 33 pls.; 12 color pls. \$10.00.
- Danske Kunstindustrimuseum, *Virksomhed*, Copenhagen, 1956. Pp. 183; 94 pls.
- DUCRET, SIEGFRIED, *Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century* (trans. by John Hayward), Frankfurt a.M., Lothar Woeller, 1956. Pp. 142; 69 figs. \$9.00.
- HACKENBROCH, YVONNE, *Meissen and other Continental Porcelain Faïence and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (for the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1956. Pp. 264; 240 pls. \$25.00.
- Harvard University, *Report of the Committee on the Visual Arts*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. 155. \$3.50.
- Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, *Ancient Coins*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956. Pp. 5; 32 pls. \$0.75.
- KENNAN, GEORGE F., *International Exchange in the Arts*, New York, International Council of the Museum of Modern Art, 1956. Pp. 10. \$0.25.
- LAVEDAN, PIERRE, *French Architecture*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1956. Pp. 304; 64 pls. \$0.95.
- LÖHNEYSEN, HANS-WOLFGANG VON, *Die ältere niederländische Malerei*, Eisenach, Erich Roth Verlag, 1956. Pp. 556; 47 pls.; 8 color pls. DM 36.00.
- MC MAHON, A. PHILIP (trans.), *Leonardo da Vinci, Treatise on Painting*, Princeton University Press, 1956. I, 443 pp.; 13 figs. II (facsimile), 542 pp. \$20.00.
- Museum of Modern Art, *Painting and Sculpture Acquisitions, June 1, 1953 through June 30, 1955*. New York, 1956. Pp. 39; 70 figs. (Museum of Modern Art Bulletin, XXIII, 3.)
- PEVSNER, NIKOLAUS, *The Englishness of English Art*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. Pp. 208; 124 pls. \$4.50.
- RICHARDSON, L., JR., *Pompeii, the Casa dei Dioscuri and its Painters* (American Academy in Rome, Memoirs, XXIII), Rome, American Academy, 1955. I, 165 pp. II, 58 pls.
- SEKLER, EDUARD F., *Wren and his Place in European Architecture*, New York, Macmillan, 1956. Pp. 217; 80 figs. \$12.00.
- SIMSON, OTTO VON, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1956. Pp. 307; 40 pls. \$6.50. (Bollingen Series, XLVIII)
- WILL, ROBERT, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace*, Strasbourg, F. X. LeRoux, 1955. Pp. 90; 44 pls. 850 fr.



COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

HONORARY DIRECTORS

MYRTILLA AVERY
Wellesley College

WALTER W. S. COOK
New York University

DAVID M. ROBINSON
University of Mississippi

PAUL J. SACHS
Harvard University

OFFICERS

President

JOSEPH C. SLOANE
Bryn Mawr College

Vice-President

LAMAR DODD
University of Georgia

Secretary

CRAIG HUGH SMYTH
New York University

Treasurer

JOHN W. STRAUS
Macy's, New York

Honorary Counsel

ROBERT E. HERMAN
New York City

DIRECTORS

To Serve Until 1957

CRAIG HUGH SMYTH
New York University

ALLEN S. WELLER
University of Illinois

LAMAR DODD
University of Georgia

GIBSON DANES
University of California, Los Angeles

WILLIAM S. A. DALE
National Gallery of Canada

To Serve Until 1958

GEORGE H. FORSYTH, JR.
University of Michigan

STEFAN HIRSCH
Bard College

THOMAS C. HOWE, JR.
*California Palace of the Legion of
Honor, San Francisco*

A. HYATT MAYOR
Metropolitan Museum of Art

JOHN W. STRAUS
Macy's, New York

To Serve Until 1959

DONALD B. GOODALL
University of Southern California

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER
New York University

CHARLES P. PARKHURST, JR.
Oberlin College

CARL O. SCHNIEWIND
Art Institute of Chicago

JOSEPH C. SLOANE
Bryn Mawr College

To Serve Until 1960

ROBERTA M. ALFORD
Indiana University

ROBERT GOLDWATER
Queen's College

MILLARD MEISS
Harvard University

THOMAS MUNRO
Cleveland Museum of Art

ERWIN PANOFSKY
Institute for Advanced Study